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HUNGARY

PPF Publishes Position, Action Program To Support Stabilization

25000002 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian
26 Sep 87 p 3

[Text] Taking a Stance

The eighth PPF congress declared its intent to increase participation in the nation-building process, and in the development of socialist conditions in our society. The PPF considers as its task to strengthen the coherence of our people, and to reinforce the unity of action on part of citizens in resolving the problems that confront Hungary. The PPF finds it necessary to successfully explore the necessary means and resources that exist in the socialist system, and to modernize the people's economy so that Hungary may become competitive in the world market. The PPF called on all citizens to establish the internal, as well as external, economic balance through well-organized work. This is the decisive condition on which a subsequent tangible standard of living increase hinges.

Joining the most important factors in Hungarian political life, the PPF professed that accelerated pace of growth requires more determined action. Such action, however, can be taken only if tasks are accurately defined, and mistakes and weaknesses are openly revealed. We concurred with the idea that the indispensable conditions for the accomplishment of solid economic growth are the accelerated transformation of the economic structure, the broad, practical application of scientific achievements, and the increased income-producing capacity of the people's economy. We supported endeavours for a substantial increase in the productivity of labor, and for the regrouping of labor.

Our economic efficiency has not improved since the eighth congress two years ago. International devaluation of our economic production continued, the production-consumption ratio deteriorated further, indebtedness has reached a critical level, unjustified differences in income have increased, and the general outlook of people has dimmed. In several areas citizen and work discipline has relaxed.

The July 2 position taken by the MSZMP CC, and the stabilization plan presented to the National Assembly by the cabinet offers an evolutionary program that leads out of the present social and economic situation. The goals defined in these documents—and so far as one can see: the proposed means, methods and actions for the accomplishment of these goals—coincide with the Hungarian people's long-term, durable interests, and with the intent and earlier positions of the PPF movement. Therefore the National Council calls on every Hungarian citizen—on party members as well as on those outside the party,

on religious people and on materialists, on every stratum of society and on every age group—to support the MSZMP position and the government's stabilization plan.

The PPF declares that as the institution for societal dialogue it is prepared to serve as a forum for the broadest possible political activity that is necessary. To accomplish this, the PPF wishes to provide a degree of openness for the preparatory, decision-making, as well as implementation processes. Openness must be greater than it is today. This way the PPF contributes to the fulfillment of a community need to permit greater societal control over these processes.

Society's fading preparedness to act can be renewed. Based on this idea, our movement is opposed to delayed action. This is consistent with past decisions. By mobilizing citizen consciousness and responsibility, the PPF wishes to help broaden the reform process. The PPF makes it known that the essential elements of reform are yet to evolve, and that this evolution can be achieved mostly by granting independence to local society, and to productive and creative communities.

The National Council calls for the acceptance of a new sense of social responsibility. The enrichment of our traditional national values and resources can be accomplished in part through openness in politics, decency in enterprise, and a measured, modest conduct in public and private life.

As a result of its talents and love of work, our nation is capable of successfully realizing the established goals. It is for this reason that the PPF continues a cooperative partnership with the cabinet. The PPF is the most broadly based organization in the Hungarian political system. This cooperative activity demands that recommendations as well as responses to recommendations be publicized.

Hungary's endeavors have attracted international attention. Quite naturally, our successes and failures reflect the triumphs and concerns not only of Hungary, but of our entire system of alliances. This lends greater significance to our national endeavour.

The PPF movement is directly interested in fully realizing the socio-economic evolutionary program that serves as the basis for Hungary's socialist development. This interest stems not only from the PPF's socio-political function, but also from many years of responsible involvement in policymaking and implementation, and the related sense of moral responsibility. This PPF initiative must not diminish the responsibility of decision-makers and of those charged with the implementation of decisions, neither at present, nor in the future. The PPF views the party's and the cabinet's objectives as deserving of support. Therefore, considering the policies promulgated by the last congress, the National Council supplements the present statement with a PPF action

plan, thereby contributing to the fulfillment of societal evolution. The PPF requests the regional and local PPF councils to participate in the realization of this action plan, according to their means and capabilities.

The problems confronting Hungary and the nation are difficult, but not insurmountable. Once again there is a need to establish a consensus and to increase endeavours in the spirit of socialist unity. We may be assured that evolution will follow as a result. As Szechenyi said: 'the greatest fault of our nation is that it either does not have confidence in itself, or that it is overly self-confident'. There is no cause for being overly confident, on the other hand, lack of self-confidence is not justified either. Our nation's fate is in our hands. Just how high we elevate our nation depends on whether we are willing to do our best. 'Best' performance today means more productive work, which is expected from everyone.

PPF Action Plan

I. Responding to the 10 July 1987 PPF National Council appeal, several council members presented verbal and written recommendations for evolutionary tasks. Based on all recommendation, the National Council considers the following as most important:

1. PPF committees should increase their work effectiveness in residential areas and in settlements. They should build upon the strength and patriotic feeling of every creative, thinking member of the public; they should require everyone to be able to see the situation realistically. They should convey and interpret the party's and the cabinet's situation analysis, as well as all evolutionary programs. The on-going societal self-examination is indispensable from the viewpoint of rational action, and must be continued. It can be maintained only through this kind of involvement by PPF committees.

2. PPF committees should seek out and establish action opportunities for various forums, associations as well as small and large communities suitable for the expression of their own proprietary interests. They should highlight the public interest and raise public morale. They should increase citizen participation in the various public forums to resolve existing and newly emerging conflicts. They should be instrumental in broadening openness at the local level, including the support of related endeavours by cable television, the local radio and the press. They should provide access to the most significant materials produced by the Council by supplying such materials to local libraries. This action should result in the public being well-informed, in the real sense of that term. This kind of activity can strengthen citizen discipline, and will encourage more consistent compliance with laws and regulations.

3. The National Council request the PPF newspapers to clarify and to make publicly comprehensible the economic policy goals and requirements, and to motivate citizens for the accomplishment and implementation of

those goals and requirements. PPF newspapers should describe the viable initiatives as well as the factors that hinder evolution. They should respond to questions raised by citizens, and should consistently inform the citizenry concerning the status of the stabilization and evolutionary program.

II. The PPF National Council agrees with the MSZMP CC finding according to which the development of socialist democracy is indispensable to the realization of the socio-economic program and to the modern functioning of the political institutional system. The transformation by which the role of the individual in societal activities increases, the independence of communities develops, and various self-governing functions in workplaces and residential areas take shape, must continue.

1. In the interest of supporting and accelerating the on-going social and political democratization process, one of the central legal tasks of PPF is to support the fulfillment of the National Assembly's role. We intend to organize a relationship between voters and elected officials which includes between-session consultations as well as post-session reporting to the electorate. This will provide better foundations for representatives to hear constituent opinions, and to inform and convince constituents.

Our advocacy work should support an increase in the number of representative clubs, unrestrained exchanges of views and forums. These will provide an organized, nevertheless relaxed framework for representatives to sound out their constituents. We should help to create expert groups which could assist National Assembly representatives to prepare themselves, and to obtain information regarding specialized subjects.

2. The public law committee of the PPF National Presidium should continue its participation in the framing of theoretical and political issues that attend the creation and application of laws, as well as in the continuous review of the practical aspects of law.

A PPF expert committee is involved in the creation of a law pertaining to associations and societal organizations. This proposed law is part of the medium-range legislative program.

We urge the drafting of legal provisions governing popular elections.

Responsive to needs, we continue our participation in revising the election law, and pay significant attention to preparations for the 1990 elections. We continually gather subject matters which may become part of the medium-range legislative program if reviewed in a unified legal format. Consistent with the spirit of the law governing legislative affairs, we are organizing societal debate over proposed legislation. We endeavour to

broaden and to provide better foundations for our movement's role as a catalyst in this respect. In pursuing this work we take into consideration the endeavours and needs of our partner societal organizations.

3. We monitor the councils as to whether popular representation and self-governance prevails, and observe the activities of magistracies. The regional and local tasks of the PPF movement are formulated on the basis of related issue analyses.

III. The PPF National Council agrees that the designated goals can be achieved within a short range stabilization process, and an extended range evolutionary process. Although at present we focus on the first period only, the National Council believes that during both periods there is a need for a broad evolution of socio-economic reform processes. Therefore:

1. Within the system of PPF forums we must pursue the provision of timely information concerning economic developments and the effectiveness of economic measures. Proposals for changes deemed necessary shall be conveyed to political and governmental organs by the appropriate PPF bodies, offering the movement's cooperation in seeking out solutions that could enhance evolution.

Evaluation of, and comment on economic policy plans, conceptions, laws and regulations for purposes of providing foundations for proper decisions, shall continue. Such evaluation and comment shall be circumspect and shall reflect the intent and views of the people. We must see to it that observations and opinions are being conveyed to the appropriate party organs and to the Council of Ministers.

2. The economic policy committee of the PPF National Presidium shall accept the task of surfacing economic conceptions which may contribute to the modernization of the economy and to the improvement of the standard of living within the framework of existing opportunities. The National council deems the phasing in of such conceptions already during the stabilization period as important. These conceptions must form more efficient production and improved services, and must contribute to the preparation of the evolutionary period.

Since the infra-structure plays an important role in providing a dynamic charge to productive work and to the raising of the general standard of living, PPF views economic management's influence on the productive sphere through policies affecting the infra-structure as indispensable.

3. The Forum of Enterprise Managers shall observe and inform the appropriate PPF bodies concerning enterprise implementation of decisions aiming for evolution. The Forum shall describe worthy examples as well as unfavorable phenomena (their causes and expected negative effects) that emerged in the course of structural

transformation, technological development and changing market conditions, and shall make recommendations for the elimination of unfavorable effects.

4. Every PPF organization shall continue social work aimed at community development so as to accommodate and to reflect the population profile in various settlements. In pursuing these endeavours the PPF shall follow the principles of direct democracy, directly involving the public, and shall enlist the cooperation of the government and of other societal organizations to foster these popular actions. It is desirable that social work bear an influence on regional (targeted support) projects, in addition to implementing tasks that serve local purposes. The PPF participates in the planning, launching and coordination of the integrated rural development (renewal) movement.

Urban and rural preservation and beautification associations, and their respective national federations shall endeavour to preserve values found in various settlements, and shall enhance community development.

5. PPF regional councils shall pay particular attention to the implementation of developmental programs in disadvantaged communities. Their primary aim shall be to assist the cooperative movement in establishing job opportunities, resolving occupational concerns and developing small production capacities—all in the interest of retaining and sustaining the population, and to aid the councils in improving the infra-structure of local societies.

A new conception must be developed for the provision and management of new residential dwellings during the period of intense workforce mobility in order to resolve concerns that attend the acquisition of residential dwellings. Jointly with KISZ, the PPF assumes an active role in working out this program.

6. In addition to the accomplishments of socialist large enterprises, agricultural small production bears significant influence on the general standard of living, on the balanced provision of food supplies and on price conditions. Jointly with the cooperative movement and with the appropriate ministerial authority, we intend to support small agricultural production endeavours through our household farming and small animal husbandry movements.

The PPF should aid cooperative movements in establishing forms of cooperation that are more suitable to existing conditions of production and income generation, by integrating small production (agricultural-commercial, producer and service enterprises) on a scale far broader than before.

7. We expect that every PPF organization will take a firm stand with respect to issues pertaining to natural resource management and to natural and man-made

environmental protection, and against narrowly construed, false arguments fostering production. In the course of environmental protection work, protests by PPF organizations shall not be limited to the waste of natural resources and to environmental damage. They should also assist in pointing out irreplaceable natural values, and should initiate and foster movements aimed at the enhancement of the environment.

PPF organizations should support the formation and functioning of associations, clubs and communities willing to work for the preservation of the environment. Through correlative work there should come about a leadership forum of societal organizations concerned with the preservation of nature and the environment.

8. The role of consumer protection will also increase during the period in which the market achieves its desired level of influence. Consumer councils shall consider it to be their primary aim to examine the quantitative and qualitative analysis of supplies; to take a firm stand against conduct manifested by producers and marketers that is injurious to the general public; to encourage quality consciousness in production—a matter which serves the interests of the people's economy also; to consistently pursue all legal means of recourse against monopolistic situations and violations stemming from the abuse of economic power; and to broaden the societal basis of consumer protection.

IV. The PPF National Council believes that every unit of the PPF should take part in the stabilization of the economy, in establishing modern societal conditions in the socialist spirit, and in reducing the societal conflicts of transformation. At the same time the PPF National Council expects that it can effectively participate in the formulation of a just distribution of the public burden, and in the formulation, realization and societal control of effective social policies.

1. The PPF, serving as the framework and theatre for the party's policy of alliance, deems as essential the renewal and reinforcement of the social consensus, accompanied by responsible citizen conduct and the formulation of socio-political systems criteria.

2. To permit a just distribution of the public burden and to allow social justice to prevail, it is necessary to establish and to operate a socio-political system which permits population growth policies to prevail, and not to discourage the growth of families by virtue of differences in standard of living, just because such standards hinge upon the number of dependents. We must bring about a situation in which significant strata are not disbarred from social development of no fault of their own. Family protection activities must be increased in every PPF committee, and every PPF committee must contribute to the efficient functioning of family assistance centers.

3. PPF committees shall demand from councils the active implementation of occupational policies and the more effective utilization of available organizational and material resources. Business organizations should be encouraged to provide timely information concerning upcoming regroupings or reductions in workforce, so as to enable the amelioration of the consequences of such actions through beneficial political work.

4. PPF committees shall participate in the preparation and propagation of a fair and modern pension reform plan. They should continue to initiate organizational conditions and forms (associations, clubs, etc.) for the protection of retired persons' interests. Providing social services, occupation in addition to pension, and a yet to be developed social and state institutional network for the aged should be viewed as an important task.

5. By implementing the youth policy plan adopted at the latest session of the National Council, PPF groups should enhance the renewal of the societal consensus among the various generations. The various fields and forms of PPF action should become the proving ground for the young with respect to their future activities in public life.

6. Physical fitness, and the propagation of healthy lifestyle must be applied more broadly than before. Every PPF committee should find opportunities to broaden the expansion of free-time and youth sports activities.

7. By using organizational means, PPF committees should participate in revealing various societal deviations and in reducing the impact of the appearances of such deviations among adults. In the absence of such activities no beneficial effects can be expected among the young.

V. Cultured work can come about only through work culture. In turn, work culture is inconceivable without general culture and a sense of humanism. Our economic development has significant reserves in the human factor also. The conditions of culture, and primarily of political culture are also the conditions for the development of a socialist democracy. The latter is a significant condition of our ability to make further progress.

1. In their support of public education, PPF committees should strengthen their influence within parent work groups, by forming school councils, and in family circles and clubs. In cooperation with parents and faculty, PPF committees should accomplish that schoolchildren acquire basic knowledge, and that they be able to develop their capabilities, aptitudes and talents. Assisted by school councils, parent work groups should inform enterprises of their role and interest in training specialized workers. PPF councils should contribute to the improvement of educational conditions in underprivileged schools, in public education as a whole, and to the instillment of a democratic spirit in the internal life of schools. They should encourage the acceleration of higher education reform by making use of their organizational means.

2. Retraining and continued education affects primarily those strata of society which have been disadvantaged in the past from the viewpoint of education. These include people whose formal education and living conditions did not encourage traditional, formal worker training. Schools and workplaces, trade unions and PPF councils should jointly seek new forms of training—new in the sense that they should be geared primarily to respond to local conditions and to individual needs. It would be worthwhile to assess whether village and peripheral schools that ceased to function would be suitable for such training. We recommend that the appropriate authorities explore the opportunities offered through televised education already during the stabilization period. Such education has proved to be responsive to contemporary needs.

3. A modern renewal of the former people's academies so far was tried only in the agricultural field and along with agricultural plant functions. It would be beneficial if industrial plants would also experiment with such renewals: would the former people's academies not be suitable for raising the level of general culture, as well as for the acquisition of useful skills? PPF councils should establish an atmosphere of trust with respect to all initiatives (clubs, courses, debating circles, reader circles, associations, people's academies, village seminars) in which an opportunity lends itself for transmitting knowledge already acquired by the intelligentsia, and for the raising of the cultural level. These forms of training would also prepare for citizen participation in public life, for democratic conduct, and for a healthy generational change.

4. The public education movements of the PPF (Hungarian studies, "For a Reading Public") are suitable for the exploration and transfer of reserves that still exist in the traditional forms of production and culture. Let us broaden this concept jointly with the National Council of Trade Unions by expanding the industrial history and chronicle writing program entitled "A Year In Our Plant." This program provides an opportunity for a large number of workers to familiarize themselves with the workings of their plants, and to strengthen their sense of proprietorship. In a similar manner, jointly with the trade unions we should organize groups that compete with socialist brigades bearing the name of Szechenyi. From among the reading, Hungarian studies and other general cultural camps we must support primarily those which, by virtue of their conception, strengthen the national consciousness of the participants and thereby, within a few years, can effectively contribute to socio-economic evolution.

5. The various PPF organs having jurisdiction must organize their work aimed at the strengthening of international friendship so as to familiarize the people with reform endeavours of other socialist countries, and with related useful and thought-provoking experiences.

The bilateral friendly circles that function within the PPF must be influenced so that within the framework of, and in addition to their traditional cultural programs, increased attention be paid to awareness about socio-economic life in the countries involved.

Stabilization and evolution can be enhanced through better organized, more effective organizational work.

1. In the course of implementing the agenda items the National Secretariat shall endeavour to provide greater texture and more substance to the National Council's proposals, by preparing specific proposals and resolutions, and by controlling their implementation.

2. We are reviewing the relationship between various organs that serve elected bodies and their activities. We must clarify the rights and duties related to membership in elected bodies, especially from the viewpoint of the movements' political clustering character, and to delegated functions of elected bodies.

We recommend that in the interest of strengthening the work of elected bodies, the county and capital city PPF committees conduct similar reviews.

3. We will pay continuous attention to PPF work methods, and to issues pertaining to changes in work-style. Local and regional experiences of this review will be the centerpiece of our organizational work. Meetings of county-secretaries will be developed into a continuous forum of information exchange. We will render a decision regarding the order of organizational relationships between city, and suburban municipal PPF committees. We are making a recommendation concerning a new, unified system of direction with due consideration to finances, as well as to past experience.

We continue, and at the same provide new, professional foundations for the system of organizational training. In order to properly implement the pertinent recommendations of the secretariat we will enhance the training programs at the county level, and, if necessary, assume a coordinative role.

4. In the framework of our organizational work we wish to provide greater opportunity for the articulation of interests involving more than one county, or a region.

5. We would like to strengthen our financial resources, and thereby the efficacy of our movement, by securing new sources of income.

We recommend that the regional and local PPF bodies analyze and evaluate their work performed since the last PPF elections. In cooperation with party organizations, councils and all forces that gathered under the PPF banner, and in due consideration of the present position of the National Council, their work agenda should be adjusted so as to be responsive to the changed circumstances. PPF National Council

**Communist Ideology Said on Defensive,
Opposition Increasing**
*25000423 Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian
No 5, 1987 pp 39-44*

[Article by Mrs Sandor Nagy, secretary of the Pest County Party Committee: "Our Ideological Influence"]

[Text] In speaking of the problems of ideological work we are frequently faced with this evaluation: we are on the defensive. Even though it contains an unjustifiable generality, the statement is right, I believe. This is the case even if we realize that in the past noteworthy results have been achieved in certain areas of the social sciences, and in other spheres of intellectual life there have been and are efforts at coming up with initiatives that serve the cause of development. Concrete and forward-looking positions and measures have also been taken in answer to various questions to improve the party's ideological work. In spite of this, it is our experience that the positions of marxism have weakened in Pest County also in the past decade, and that the ideological influence of the party has declined in certain strata of society, particularly among the youth and intellectuals. Increasingly noticeable in daily consciousness are the signs of growing value confusions in the ideologies being established in everyday life, and ideological uncertainties and doubts are also on the increase in respect to our socialist development. What demands do these facts raise against the political-ideological work of the party organizations at the various levels? What does all this signify for the political leadership under conditions in which people must reckon with a further differentiation in living conditions, the deterioration of the situation of certain social groups, and a more striking polarization of interests and views; and from another aspect, under conditions where political sentiment is more critical and in many instances more pessimistic, and also where the enemy's propaganda is vigorously more active?

We sought for answers to these questions when recently, in the search for possibilities and reserves for the development of the ideological work conducted in our counties, we analyzed the ideological activity of the basic party organizations and the guiding party organs. We studied in our county the content of work carried out by institutions in the formation of consciousness and the mediation of ideology, the effectiveness of agitation and propaganda activity by the party and mass organizations, and the quality of ideological guidance in the field of public instruction and education and the possibilities for further development.

At every level of political activity, as it were, it is palpably evident that the need for intellectually working out and understanding the many environmental effects is very much alive in people. This necessity is intensified all the more by changing social practices and the contradictory trends in the development of public thinking, often with symptoms that give cause for concern. All

these things are grounds for the strengthening of consciousness formation, the improvement of its quality, and the increase of its effectiveness. But above all, for correctly interpreting ideological activity in political practice and putting it more in the forefront of party work as a whole. We need the consistent implementation of an outlook and practice which will conceive the requirement for modern ideological work as a theoretically demanding analytical approach, attitude, and reactive capability in regard to the whole area of social and political life. For the ideological activity of the party is nothing else than a means for the coordination of our immediate and long-range goals, the awakening to consciousness of our social situation, and the interpretation, understanding and following through to the finish of our conflicts. We must jointly create the conditions to make it possible for the leading bodies at the various levels and the great masses of party membership to arrive at independent, swift, and correct evaluations of the important phenomena in their narrow and broad setting and to develop and strengthen ideological unity in judging basic or, from the political viewpoint, special problems of socialist theory and practice.

I consider it important to raise the question for the following two reasons. On one hand, because the social strengthening of ideological and political consciousness is the key question from the political point of view, now when the conditions and possibilities of development have clearly changed. And on the other hand, because our experiences in recent years show that contradictory trends are being strengthened in regard to the above-mentioned needs and requirements. In many cases appropriate harmony is lacking between our socialist ideals and declared principles, which form the substance of ideological practice and their implementation.

It has been our experience that in recent years the substance and quality of ideological activity in their totality in the work of the party organs and of the mediating institutional systems lags behind what is required by the change in domestic and international conditions, and the solution of the tasks that lie ahead of us. Ideological work is frequently narrowed to mass political and propaganda work. Even party officials and part of the apparatus regard it only as a specialized task and as simple organizational work, and often measure its success only quantitatively by the number of its political actions and programs, by the number of school registrations and corporate body data, in a word, on the basis of external signs. But even from the quantitative point of view the situation in recent years appears disquieting. For example, in 6 years the number of participants in cadre training declined by almost one-half, and the annual rate of erosion is increasing yearly and at present stands at 10 to 12 percent. In the work of the corporate bodies the ratio of ideological subjects and agenda items has declined as compared to previous figures, and on the basis of the substantive experiences of membership meetings it appears that in many places consciousness formation does not receive the necessary support and

respect in political work as a whole. All this calls attention to the fact that in the work of the party organs at the various levels there is a need for a change of outlook in the activity of the corporate bodies.

There are clear indications that in party work as a whole the shift in ratio from theory to propaganda, and even more to agitation toward mobilization for immediate tasks, is increasingly more perceptible. In my judgment the political imperatives of a given period could justify this modification, to a certain degree, and this in itself would not be bad if the link of daily task fulfillment to long-range goals and ideals was more clear. Our ideological work can improve in quality if it does not get mired in the immediacy of daily affairs, because it is the essence of its work to seek the inter-relationships between long-range and daily, national and local, general and individual goals and interests. Therefore, it is essential to have a clear concept—amid the varied ideological views of a society, and the always changing and often confused currents of ideological pluralism—what is it that the party declares as its own opinion in theoretical, ideological, social, and political questions, and why; what is it that it regards as transitory, and what is it that it rejects and why.

A role is apparently played in the foregoing phenomenon by the characteristic weakness of our ideological work—namely, that an evaluation of the various facts and trends at the basis of the goals and values of the overall movement is lacking.

Generally speaking, the theoretical generalization of experiences that accumulate in practice is not adequate. Undoubtedly the fulfillment of this requirement is a very difficult and complex task nowadays, because the practical processes and social relations are often manifested in such contradictory forms and trends, and it cannot always be determined precisely whether these trends are the permanent, essential concomitants of socialist development or only short-term factors.

It is understandable, therefore, that even among skilled activists and propagandists such phenomena cause interpretive confusions as, for example, the accumulation of wealth by certain groups, and its function as capital; the contradiction between full and efficient employment; the apparent devaluation of socialist values; and the decline in living standards, social security, or the increasing difficulties of social adjustment.

All these, of course, may be ascribed only in part to the weakness of theoretical and consciousness-formation work, for most ideological problems are the result or reflection of contradictions in social life. And this, I think, plays a role in the fact that ideological activity today seeks much more to serve current economic and political goals, and the mode of thinking that takes the long-term perspectives of society into account are forced excessively into the background. The feeling of something lacking that springs from this is expressed by a

significant share of the party activists. Their view may be summarized by saying that in recent years the Marxist perspectives and theoretical foundations of politics are less in evidence, and in many instances it appears that the pragmatic school of thought of "amending and balancing" is being realized.

Experience also shows that the thinking through and taking into account of the expected consciousness and emotional effects of political decisions and measures are not sufficiently consistent. And still, these may become "material forces" which can speed up, modify or even inhibit the attainment of our goals.

In broad circles of those who guide ideological work, propagandists, agitators, and members of corporate bodies, it is generally judged that the specific link of agitation and propaganda work to the processes of local and national politics is not close enough. I believe that in this respect there are tasks to be done at every level, for in recent years it has frequently occurred that only after measures already taken did political leadership offer or demand theoretical points of reference and work out a system of argument for propaganda. To this day we feel the consequences of this in judging, for example, small businesses, and income differences. For this reason considerable uncertainty was experienced with the introduction of teho [development tax], or in interpreting the tasks and possibilities of local party guidance at elections of the representatives of the National Assembly and council members. I believe the criticism that the party membership does not always receive the necessary prior strategic and tactical orientation is true, although without appropriate ammunition we are inevitably put on the defensive. We must change this in the interest of efficient action and operational capability of our party.

The above is supported by the substantive experiences summarized by reports of membership meetings in the recent past. At the same time, they indicate that ideological reaction to the differing views is slow, and that the exposure of erroneous ideas and the related ideological debates are of low-level quality at every level of political work. It is particularly weak—although it is not the fault of those who work there—at the lower levels. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that there is rarely occasion in the membership meetings of the corporate bodies or the basic organizations for evaluation of phenomena and events in the narrow or broad environment, and of the ideologically based criticism of incorrect views and attitudes, except in blatant or extreme cases. For example, if opposing-inimical views are evident in the operational area of a given party organization, or if a party member crudely violates ideological and moral requirements.

I think we ought to make better use, than we have up to now, of the possibilities afforded by mass communication for attitude formation, and for the development of unequivocal orientation, without being afraid of disputing responsibly and in an organized and planned manner

before the public those views which are opposed to our principles and policies. I raise this point because it is our everyday experience that not only party members are the ones often uncertain, but also trained and well-informed propagandists. One reason for this is that views that are opposed to the political strategy of the party are expressed at public forums but frequently are not subjected then and there to appropriate Marxist criticism, although we know that most party members are not capable of developing an independent system of arguments in these subjects. The other side of the problem is that frequently internal professional debates that have not been concluded are unjustifiably brought before the public, and this too causes confusion.

Many are of the opinion that because of the unjustifiable delay in establishing our theory answers are lacking for many questions. On the other hand, it is a warning sign, and an indication of the weaknesses of propaganda work, that at times uncertainty and loss of perspective are also evident even where the theoretical basis is available. It is also a problem that the institutions fulfilling the important role of consciousness formation—political organizations, the work places, schools, and mass communication—frequently give out excessively contradictory points of view when making judgments on social questions of science and art, and this increases uncertainty and ideological confusion as much as the postponement or omission of a justified political decision.

In the present practice of the party organizations the hunger for information, the demand for guidance, and the will for strengthening Marxist positions all coexist with an easy attitude, or with ideological conservatism. An operational short-term outlook of greater extent than justified is often itself the source of theoretical lack of forcefulness in political work. It is likely that all these things together play a role in the unfavorable phenomenon of many party members shunning any debates, and of individual stances being increasingly less bold.

What are the undesirable consequences of the lasting restraints on ideological work and of the danger of substantive limitations? First of all, I shall note that relative ideological stability is an important factor in socio-political stability. The gradual development of a national consensus that started in 1957 included a mass identification with certain basic political, economic, and moral principles and values, and an acknowledgment of the hegemony of marxism. The confusions now evident in the public mood and value system may also become destabilizing factors, if we do not handle them appropriately. In the absence of intellectual/ideological guidelines for the main trends of reality and their taking shape in serious debates, many things may become questionable in the same way as when the role of the "lighthouse" is given to daily political decisions. To continue with the metaphor, the total absence of signal lights is as unsuitable for indicating direction as scattered beams of light, created by too many sources of light, would be. And with such "conditions of visibility" we can easily become

disoriented and make subjective judgments: in the absence of demanding ideological activity, criticism of a constructive intent may be viewed as oppositionist, even inimical. On the other hand, the charge of "apologia" may sometimes be made against the defenders of the foundations of theory and policy.

Historical experience also show that it may be attributed in part to the weaknesses of theoretical/ideological work when long-term political planning is forced into the background. At such times the pursuit of tactical successes and short-term pragmatism may be overvalued. But then topical matters and everyday appraisals may appear as "fundamental socialist values" and "fundamental socialist laws," thereby preserving in a conservative manner the conditions of the given period. Under these conditions the lack of ideological orientation may draw in its wake a lack of consciousness and perspective that is necessary for reform action, and the undertaking of value and interest linkage. If this is how we take hold of the question, then the factor which may represent one of the chief barriers to the development of our society is exactly the lag in our creative theoretical/ideological work, and politico/ideological consciousness formation.

In harmony with the opinions and experiences of others, we also perceive that the weak points of the work, the symptoms, are in large part clear. The necessary conditions and resources for the change are also more or less available to us. What the party must attend to is a more coordinated, effective and unidirectional operation of the system of methods in the ideological sphere; improvement in the reactive capability of the institutions that create, enrich, and mediate socialist ideology; raising the party memberships' politico/ideological readiness to a higher level in harmony with the requirements of our times and the needs of society. In outlining our own tasks we sought to weigh these requirements, bearing in mind that to secure Marxist hegemony, as well as the path to and the chief method of the fight against views alien to our principles, will require the manifold perfection of the socialist social relations, the improvement of party work, debate, and persuasion, and a higher level of consciousness formation and educational work.

In order to strengthen the theoretical and ideological foundation we need not only to orient systematically, to train, and to provide refresher training for the members of the corporate bodies, but to prepare for decisions to build better on the Marxist intellectual base available in the county, and on the work of the social science capacities, primarily of the institutions of higher education and the teaching administration. In order to study the politico/ideological profile of the various social strata and groups and to develop consciousness-raising work that takes into account the characteristics of the social strata, we must plan, among other things, better utilization of sociology and the inventory of means available to public opinion research.

In the possession of experiences we can now more clearly see that we must assist with more differentiated requirements the ideological work conducted in the basic organizations and in the leading party bodies. We must also strengthen the internal openness of party work, giving incentive to worthwhile debates, and more effective mobilization of information and the existing ideological ammunition. First of all, we must require the leading party organizations to operate a totally effective system of mass political work, and also that they must not tolerate in ideological work a compartmentalized outlook, a disposition to take it easy, or an undemanding attitude. We know that party education will continue to have an important role in the party's politico/ideological unity and the strengthening of the advocacy of our policies. It is therefore necessary to further improve the material, objective and personnel conditions, and to continuously modernize methods and inventories.

Our studies also indicate that we must devote more attention in the future to the improvement of the activity and work of state institutions, and social organizations participating in consciousness raising; to the better coordination of their work; to matters of principle, assistance and support of requirements in party guidance, and to more demanding cadre work. We shall support by every means the development of local political life. We shall give incentive to independent initiatives by citizens, the organization of circles and associations of friends, striving to realize the party's ideological and political influence in these bodies, above all, with the active, persuasive participation of party members.

The detailed working out of county and local tasks should take place after the Central Committee prepares its planned position for the year in respect to ideological work. But even until then we must not lose sight of the fact that the rejuvenation of ideological work is a matter for the whole party, the interest, task, and responsibility of every party organization and communist.

06691/09599

Proposed Tax Reform Sparks Sharp Debate

In Parliamentary Committees

25000474 Budapest *MAGYAR NEMZET* in Hungarian
28 Jul 87 p 3

[Article: "Exchange of Views by Two Parliamentary Committees on Tax Reform Ideas"]

[Text] Last month, although it was the height of the vacation season, the audience overflowed the upper level of the parliamentary conference hall, where some of the representatives, for lack of sitting room, had to stand to listen to the opening remarks by Gyorgy Antalfy. Such great interest is explained by the agenda of the parliamentary planning and budgetary committee, and the legal, administrative, and judiciary committees that are debating in joint meetings ideas relating to tax reform.

The proposal sent earlier to the representatives by the Ministry of Finance stated that the development possibilities of enterprises in the present price and tax system are determined not by their achievement and market relations, but by their budgetary relations. The budget withholds and redistributes an ever increasing share of produced incomes. The multitude of subsidies and exemptions is so vast that it covers up the successes as well as the weaknesses of management. The present public tax system is in itself contradictory. The rules deal differently with the various activities, and do not provide for a sharing of burdens that would be proportional to income. The development of market relations is a condition for the successful operation of the new organizational forms in order that the profit incentive of the entrepreneurs may be further strengthened.

Peter Medgyessy, minister of finance, emphasized in his opening speech that this conference was the beginning of a series of parliamentary debates on the value added and personal income tax. By way of characterizing interest in the subject, he added that the commercial committee has assigned a group of experts to study the projected plan, and in Bacs-Kiskun County a local body of representatives already discussed the ideas that have been outlined up to now. In commenting on the merits of the case, the minister of finance expressed the view that, while the new tax system is only a part of the economic policy inventory, it is nonetheless one of the guarantees for carrying out the development program.

He peppered his talk with a turn of speech that aroused attention when he asked: "What will happen if Parliament does not accept the tax bill at its autumn session?" The minister gave a definite answer to the question: "In the case of a 'no' it will be necessary to carry out by means of the existing tax and price system those plans and compulsory withholdings that the budget simply cannot avoid. The financial rigor, made necessary by the country's balance situation, cannot be eased in 1988 either! We know that the present tax and price system, as already mentioned, and the methods of support are not good, and, therefore, rejection of the new law will not even give the chance of a worthwhile change but will only keep the longstanding ills of the past. In recent decades the greatest weakness of economic policy was the postponement of the necessary steps and delayed reaction."

The comment by Jozsef Bognar, academician and chairman of the planning and budgetary committee, provided the keynote to the debate. Bognar called attention to the fact that the introduction of a value added tax would represent a split with the competitive price system linked to world market fluctuations.

This could be accompanied by serious dangers. Hungary cannot go parading with prices based on combined domestic expenditures and costs because on the foreign market no one cares about what it costs us to produce commodity goods. He also approached the personal income tax from an economic point of view when, with

an eye on the issue of fairness, he analyzed how it would affect interests. We must be careful, lest the restraint of production be the answer to the new withholding system, and declining living standards be worsened by the deterioration of public supply.

The debate suggested two clear conclusions. One was that the representatives need more information about the new tax system for making responsible decisions; they need even clearer sociopolitical guarantees! The other was a straightforwardly worded requirement: the tax system is only one element of economic policy, and a well-founded opinion can only be expressed if the government's work program and the relationships of the further steps in the reform also become known.

Mrs Attila Toth (Budapest) called attention among other things to the fact that the new personal income tax also affects those social strata that in the past 5 to 6 years have sacrificed a great deal to maintain their families, and these changes are taking place at a time when there is a disquieting decline in the population's willingness to assume childbearing responsibilities. Moreover, it is difficult to have the new proposals accepted, as long as the public does not have detailed information about the plans. Regarding acceptance of the proposals, Frigyes Tallossy (Budapest) added: the informational material is written in excessively technical language that the average citizen has difficulty interpreting; later on this might give rise to many misunderstandings.

Gyula Varga (Zala County) emphasized that today the economy needs a system that does not work against interests but rather gives incentive, and in which the society sees not only sacrifice but also the way out for the future.

Bertalan Mayer (Vas County) expressly stated that the new tax system must unconditionally deal with the situation of the poor stratum, which has been expanding in recent times. He also emphasized that the decision-making responsibility of the representatives appears to have still greater weight on this subject.

Carrying further the idea of sociopolitical guarantees and the complex attitudinal outlook and program urged by the other speakers, Zoltan Kiraly (Csongrad County) offered a proposal. According to this, in September the Parliament should discuss the new tax system as part of the government's program, and at a later session in October it should decide on the introduction of a law that fits organically into the reform ideas. He added, however, that, in order to win the citizenry over to the government's plan and its realization, it will be absolutely necessary to have credibility and give a critique of earlier practices.

Minister of Finance Peter Medgyessy replied to the observations of the representatives.

At the combined meeting of the two committees, the following representatives also spoke: Gyorgy Bolcsey (Budapest); Laszlo Cselotei (Pest County); Janos Fekete (Bekes County); Jeno Horvath (Budapest); Gaspar Koros (Bacs-Kun County); Dr Maria Varga Lestar (Budapest); Gusztav Lekai (Hajdu-Bihar County); Janos Sera (Komarom County); Dezso Szigethy (Gyor-Sopron County); Andras Tulok (Veszprem County); and Mrs Maria Csuka Voros (Komarom County).

In Hungarian Economic Association

25000474 Budapest *MAGYAR NEMZET* in Hungarian
29 Jul 87 p 3

["The Hungarian Economic Association: Views and Counterviews"]

[Text] The leadership of the Hungarian Economic Association offered an intellectual treat in yesterday's meeting at which they debated the tax reform plan on the basis of a current proposal by the Ministry of Finance. (What debate material the expert commented on could only be surmised from questions and remarks because the attending press representatives unfortunately were not given copies of the written source.) But, finally, a debate where only experts spoke their opinions! This fact is noteworthy because the sharpness of opinions rendered here and there is often blunted by a lack of expertise—but here in the lecture room of the Academy this could not be the case. Here the elite of Hungarian economic society, or their representatives, took part in the meeting.

But, granted this, there were still too many contrary opinions. Department head Mihaly Kupa, tax affairs authority of the Ministry of Finance, again said that one cannot expect a tax system to provide a complete reform of economic management. No matter how well its development might succeed, it is merely one of the means of reform—although an indispensable one. A basic requirement, however, is that the new system should guard the positions of the three main factors in the economy: the population, the economic organizations, and the budget, and that it should be a suitable means of stabilization. The department head added with emphasis that the tax reform plan worked out by the expert was only a means—its implementation depends on those who manage economic policy.

The above clarification was received by an unusually long silence. The presiding officer, Bela Csikos-Nagy, had to call on the audience a number of times for comment.

Then the first to step to the microphone was Istvan Hetenyi, the former minister of finance, and the only participant in the debate, who categorically stated that the introduction of the tax reform was possible, necessary, and unavoidable. In fact, anyone who votes against

it wants to keep the present regulation, which has proved so unsuccessful, unchanged. The proposals are good, but the details require further refinement.

Economists who expressed views in the following proceedings voiced major or minor reservations, depending on their position, age, or mind-set—for example, on the subject of large families. According to some, formulations relating to this category almost intimate that the subject refers to parasites, those who exploit possibilities without performing work. A great deal was said about invisible incomes and tips.

In the vast majority of cases, the amounts of money involved can be determined, for the percentage that a waiter or taxi driver may add to the bill is by and large known. This must also be taken into account in establishing sick pay and in tax payments.

Some argued with comparative calculations. There was one who demonstrated the unfavorable situation in respect to per capita income that would await those with large families, as compared even to pensioners with their truly not very high, tax-free incomes. Others proved that the plan "penalizes" income growth for those in lower brackets to a much greater degree, than those in higher brackets with incomes of 240,000 to 800,000 forints per year. On the basis of the two variants with every thousand forint increase income under 240,000 forints, the tax rate increases by 23 to 25 percent, whereas between 240,000 and 800,000 forints, the increase is only 12 to 15 percent.

Everyone agreed that the country has a great need—after adequate preparation—for a well-planned, consistently executed tax system that does not tolerate loopholes. At present, however, not everyone can see clearly the sound foundations and the results attainable in return for undertaking the difficulties.

In this respect—and Peter Medgyessy, minister of finance, also stressed this—a more understandable, and at the same time, more expert propaganda would help a great deal. Graphic informational materials will, in fact, soon appear. But for the success of the tax reform—above all, most convincing were the well-founded debate arguments of the economists—the views of the experts must be taken seriously and built into the plan.

06691/09599

CB Radio Use by Population Limited, Controlled
25000485 Budapest RADIO ES TELEVIZIO UJSAG
in Hungarian 20-26 Jul 87 p 3

[Excerpts from an article by Janos Nemes: "Everyone's Radio" in JEL-KEP, No 2, 1987: "CB Radio Use In Hungary"]

[Text] The first citizens band [CB] radios made their debut in Hungary in the 1960's. A significant number of domestically produced single-channel and two-channel

CB units were sold mainly to enterprises and institutions. The dynamic growth of CB operations began in the early 1980's. As a result of technological development, a large number of sets were imported from various sources at an acceptable price and were put to use. Before 1980 there were only 17,000 CB radios in Hungary. As a matter of comparison it may be interesting to know that of this number 15,900 units were operated by the state, and 1,100 by private persons.

As of late October 1986, the number of institutions holding CB permits was estimated at 10,000-12,000, operating a total of 40,000-50,000 units. The number of private persons operating CB radios was between 25,000 and 27,000, with approximately 50,000 pieces of equipment. The essential point is that in Hungary anyone may purchase CB equipment, or, more accurately, anyone may obtain a permit to operate CB radio equipment, provided the applicant has a certificate of good moral conduct. This represents internationally accepted practice and is aimed at preventing criminal abuse of telecommunications.

At present, private persons may use 40 channels allocated by the Postal Service within the so-called K or medium band, in the 26.96-27.41 MHz range. Forty other channels in the K band are allocated to institutions; upon request they may receive one or two additional channels in the F or high-frequency band, in the 27.41-27.86 MHz range. Last year the Postal Service began to allocate low frequencies in the 26.51-26.96 MHz range. Low-frequency communications will primarily serve the transportation industry and private dispatcher services, thus separating those from other CB traffic.

The CB band in Hungary was expanded primarily because of the sudden increase in CB units in large urban areas, which resulted in excessive interference. The expansion of the band is far from complete. Congestion in the expanded band has not decreased noticeably: organizations are forced to satisfy their mobile as well as permanent fixed station communication needs through CB because of well-known deficiencies in telephone service, the lack of a public radio-telephone service, and the low standards of the professional radio-telephone networks.

International communication rules indicate that disturbance-free CB communications cannot be assured. This is echoed by the Hungarian Postal Service as well as by other long-distance communication authorities. Disturbance in the CB band is not due solely to the volume of appropriate industrial and medical communications and to mutual interference. A significant number of disturbances are caused by operators who knowingly apply technical parameters contrary to regulations (for example, increased output, frequency deviations, improper modulation).

As a result of the insufficiency of cable telephone communications, CB radio has acquired a peculiar role in Hungary. The valuable service provided by CB equipment in the organization and management of production is immeasurable. Another valuable use of CB stems from the fact that post offices in the countryside are limited to daytime service. As a result, many communities keep in touch by using their CB radios. In the absence of CB radios, remote farms would not be in touch with the outside world in our days. CB radios are irreplaceable in the dispatching of vehicles, and, by necessity, in the direction of production.

A significant part of the population purchased and now operates CB radios, so as to be able to keep in touch with family members and friends, in the absence of adequate telephone service. Sick people, the elderly, and the handicapped also keep in touch with the outside world through CB, and, if needed, can use CB to summon help.

Based on a grass-roots initiative, and supported by political and social organizations, the National Association of CB Radio Broadcasters [CB-ROE] was established in 1982. The purpose of the CB-ROE is to unite, organize, and direct the social, economic, and cultural activities of those who broadcast in the 27-mHz band. The president of the Hungarian Postal Service oversees the Association's activities.

Within two years—a relatively short period of time—CB-ROE organized a nationwide network of CB clubs, encompassing 51 local organizations. These organizations may be credited with significant achievements in organizing various cultural events, and in helping other social organizations to prepare their events. Beginner and advanced language courses were broadcast on two channels, designated for that purpose over a two-year period. There were teachers on duty so that, if needed, students could receive assistance. Several CB organizations function within and under the auspices of cultural homes.

Once every month the Association's station broadcasts a 15-30 minute program dealing with association activities and the technical and communications load issues that attend CB broadcasting.

In 1983 CB-ROE established a unique emergency assistance network. Since then, in addition to the Budapest central emergency assistance station, 61 municipalities provide 24-hour emergency service. This was made possible by virtue of a cooperative agreement with the Ministry of Interior's National Fire Service Command, in addition to significant support received from society. In the countryside the emergency frequencies are monitored by the local fire services. The societal role and public utility of the CB emergency service network is demonstrated by the fact that by late 1986 the Budapest central had taken action in response to more than 30,000 public interest CB broadcasts involving accidents, fires, crimes, medical help, and so forth.

Because of several factors, during the last two years the CB-ROE's activities have diminished. A frequency use fee introduced in early 1985 resulted in a decline in the number of CB radio users. Since need prompted the installation of more than one CB unit within families, the fees presented a significant financial burden. The excessive use of the frequency band in major urban areas discouraged some prospective buyers of CB equipment to complete their purchases; others were prompted to sell their equipment. These are the negative factors.

Considering the anticipated technical and financial problems that attend long distance communications in Hungary, CB radio may look forward to long-term development. The existing volume of communications and the attendant technical problems could be remedied, thereby establishing conditions for development, warranted by existing needs.

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POLAND

Spokesman, Physician Debate Nuclear Power Plant Safety

Zarnowiec Press Spokesman's Defense
2600054a Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish
No 16, 2, 9 Aug 87 pp 1-3

[Article by Wieslaw Szlendak, specialist on press information: "Zarnowiec at All Costs?"]

[Text] In reply to Dr Jerzy Jaskowski's text "Zarnowiec at All Costs," GWIAZDA MORZA, NO 10, we received the following letter, dated May 10, from the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant (under construction).

[—] [Law of 31 July 81 on the control of publications and exhibits, Art 2, item 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99 amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. The government report cited by Dr Jaskowski concerns the construction status of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant at the end of 1985. Many of the report's entries are now only of historical interest. Many problems were purposely highlighted in the report after the Chernobyl tragedy so that they could be resolved as quickly as possible.

Mr Jaskowski cites specific points of the report of the Government Commission, which has been chaired by Deputy Premier Szalajda since the Chernobyl accident. A brief review of these points follows.

Point 1

The status of the organization of the quality control system was described as faulty. Concern was expressed about the lack of control over foreign manufacturers of equipment for the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant and the acceptance inspection of this equipment at their facilities.

The chief engineering service for quality assurance, in collaboration with the PAA [National Atomic Energy Agency], is presently involved with the construction of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant. It is being guided in practice by the Atomic Energy Law passed not long ago by the Sejm, and by the special quality assurance system that was developed while realizing the investment.

Appropriate contracts concerning technical supervision and quality sampling of the specialized equipment at the foreign producer's facilities were concluded with all parties participating in the production of equipment for the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant.

Point 2

This contains information about changing the main supplier for the construction of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant. To date, the Soviet Union has been the main supplier for all the CEMA countries. For the first time for our construction, this function is being filled by Megadex, a Polish firm. Previously, this firm did not have a program to assure quality of deliveries. Such a program has now been verified and implemented.

Point 3

It is stated that the construction project does not receive technical data in a timely manner because of poor organization of design offices and personnel shortages. It is true, this is a problem. However, the Energoprojekt department is now in operation in Gdansk, and a department is also located at the construction site.

Point 5

Concern is expressed about the implementation of a program to train personnel to operate the nuclear power plant. Being well aware of the importance of preparing personnel to operate the nuclear power plant safely, the training program was expanded. As a matter of fact, the training was delayed, but it was correlated with the construction situation. At the present time, the training program is proceeding successfully and is not threatened.

The status of preparations for accidents was discussed. It was stated that legal bases for organizing procedures to prepare for nuclear accidents are lacking in Poland. But the author neglected to say that such legal bases exist in only some countries. These countries make use of separate legal acts that encompass all possible accidents and calamities caused by human activity and natural forces,

including nuclear accidents. Nuclear facilities are required to prepare plans of operation for emergencies before the facilities are placed into operation, and such work is coordinated with the PAA.

Point 7

Mr Jaskowski acknowledges the validity of the approved construction designs for the so-called safety casings. However, he states that all technical data was not available. The position of WOT of 2 February 1987, which Mr Jaskowski cites, should clarify the matter once and for all: "The basic elements of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant safety designs, namely:

- locating the reactors and the fault location towers in separate buildings connected by a wide corridor;

- a water condenser to lower the maximum average positive gauge pressure;

- a system to quickly lower the pressure in the safety casings,

have been used in nuclear power plants built in Canada, the United States, Sweden, the FRG and other countries. The design used by the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant is the same standard construction used in modernizing the WWER-440 reactors in the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the GDR. In addition, Soviet calculations we have seen confirm the useability of the utilized designs." No more need be said about the cited portions of the government report.

Further on in his comments, Mr Jaskowski mentioned the use of unsuitable cement. On the contrary, no cement has been used for over 6 months because desired requirements of a single parameter were not met. These same strictures apply to all other materials.

In building the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant, the principle: "We may not be able to do something, but what we do must be done properly" is mandatory.

It must be acknowledged that the method of comparing the amount of concrete needed for the safety casings with the construction of houses is clever. But the comparison is not realistic because the special hydro-engineering cement used in the construction of nuclear power plants is never used and is unsuitable for housing construction. With presently used housing construction techniques, about 70 cubic meters of concrete are used. It is easy to calculate that a maximum of 450 housing units can be built with 30,000 cubic meters of concrete.

I know that Mr Jerzy Jaskowski is a lecturer at the Gdansk Academy of Medicine. His article also shows that he likes to get involved with prophesying the future of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant. This should be the domain of astrologers and not scientists. We, at least for now, do not involve ourselves, for example, in curing

tumors at the Academy of Medicine. The ancient, proven maxim of Hippocrates, the patron of doctors, is "Primum Non Nocere." And that is exactly what it is all about.

Doctor Offers Rebuttal

26000754a Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish
No 16, 2, 9 Aug 87 pp 2, 3

[Article: 'The Reply of Dr Jaskowski dated 10 June 1987']

[Text] Mr Szlendak's letter contains many opinions and formulations that require explanation and comment.

Above all, I want to clarify the fact that my interest in the future construction of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant results from my knowledge of the tragic results of the growth of nuclear energy worldwide, and not from any love of astrology. It would be worthwhile for the builders of nuclear power plants to become interested in curing tumors, especially those caused by the operation of facilities built by them, which Mr Szlendak seems to ignore. For example, a 435 percent increase in leukemia has been recorded for children living near the Widscale nuclear power plant after 10 years of operation (LANCET, 1981). After the Chernobyl accident, there was a 100 increase in leukemia in Krakow City Province, a 40 percent increase in Wroclaw Province. There also was an increase in birth defects in Lublin children. These data correspond with a map of radioactive contamination on Polish territory. According to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, infant mortality increased 6.2 percent in the first quarter of this year compared with the first quarter of last year. To make things worse, according to Polish specialists in oncology this year's supply of anti-tumor drugs will only amount to 25 percent of last year's supply. It also should be noted that practically all drugs in this group must be purchased with foreign exchange, which we do not have, and those that we do have are spent for, among other things, nuclear power plant needs, which increases tumor diseases even more. Thus, if one wants to talk about the ancient, proven maxim of Hippocrates, the patron of doctors, then it should be applied to present situations.

Concerning the report I cited, it is the last document of its type. Thus, referring to it seems proper.

And now to the specific points.

In point 2, Mr Szlendak explains that Megadex, a Polish enterprise, will be the general supplier in place of the Soviet Union. If only Polish products were highly thought of in Poland and abroad for their quality, then this explanation could be truly acknowledged as reassuring.

In point 5, Mr Szlendak writes that the training of workers for the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant is proceeding successfully. How is this possible if to date tests have not been developed to qualify candidates to work at

the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant? I know of no attempts by university departments or psychology institutes to develop such tests. Once more I emphasize: there is no doubt that, despite the present level of technology, the human factor is decisive.

As reported in the specialized publications, people are the main cause of most nuclear power plant accidents, specifically their ignorance, excessive self-assurance, neglect of duties and lack of imagination. As is known, the individuals responsible for the Chernobyl catastrophe were sought all over the USSR for several months and will face a military tribunal in Kiev at the beginning of July. As we also know, to this very day people are dying as a result of the catastrophe. Recently, for example, the director of the film on the accident and two of his operators died. It is estimated that 300,000 to 1 million people will die as a result of the Chernobyl accident. It also should be emphasized that the entire area within 30 km of Chernobyl has been sealed off for an indefinite period.

As reported by Col Baltrukiewicz in LEKARZ WOJSKOWY (1/87), about 10,000 additional children will die from thyroid cancer. Based on current data on the detectability and treatment of thyroid tumors, this number may increase to 50,000 or more.

The reply contained in point 6 is also unsatisfactory. The lack of legal bases in other countries is no justification. The lack of legal acts makes it impossible to establish responsibilities for individuals or institutions, or to allot proper funding for evacuations, food reserves and the like.

In point 7 regarding concrete and safety casings, Mr Szlendak says everything has been resolved. In the meantime, in INZYNIERIA I BUDOWNICTWO (No 12/86) we find an article evaluating Polish cements with regard to their suitability for hydro-engineering concrete, such as are used in the construction of a nuclear power plant. In their summary, the authors of the article report: "In evaluating the results of the conducted research it can be stated that at this time Poland has no cement that could fulfill all the requirements presented by the Zarnowiec RTB or BWJ regarding hydro-engineering cement." Further on the authors write that it will not be possible to initiate quickly the special production of such cement. Then they state: "Concerning the special Malogoszcz 35/90 cement, individual batches meet most requirements. However, the differences in achieved results in case of consecutive cement deliveries are so great that the possibility of obtaining cement of a guaranteed homogeneity is questionable."

Sixty-five months after initiating construction of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant we learn that, in general, Poland does not produce suitable cement. Also, no known scientific work has been done to evaluate how the currently produced cement reacts to ionizing radiation, high temperatures and so on.

In another article in that same issue of INZYNIERIA I BUDOWNICTWO it is stated: "Among the worldwide nuclear power plant designs presented to the conference participants, much concern was expressed about the projected safety building at the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant, which, according to specialists present at the conference, is unique with regard to shape and construction. Its resistance to pressure associated with the so-called maximum design failure is much worse. Such a building should withstand a pressure of about 0.5 MPa or 500 KN/square meter. However, it is designed for much lower pressures (...) such an unconventional design was a source of much controversy among the conference participants, including an extreme proposal demanding that construction of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant cease, especially since it is located very near the Tri-City urban area. In case of an accident, in view of the prevailing northwesterly winds, there is the danger of significant contamination of the Tri-City area. Considering the present level of nuclear technology, the approved nuclear power plant designs purchased from the USSR are very old and uneconomic."

It should be added that only 5 of the electric power plants built in the United States in the past quarter century are located near large urban centers. In case of an accident like the one in Chernobyl, it will practically be impossible to evacuate 1 million people in Poland in a reasonable time period. And what will happen to the Vistula estuary and the ports?

Concerning the given amount of cement used, in fact one cannot build the reported number of housing units. That was a misprint. The true number is over 330,000 and not 30,000 cubic meters of cement.

Taking advantage of the situation, I wish to raise even more questions. In POSTĘPY TECHNIKI JADROWEJ, No 7-3/1986, p 225, a conclusion is stated: "Devices to measure marginal saturation and reactor container levels are essential equipment for nuclear power plants containing pressurized-water reactors. According to the authors's information, current technical documents contain no data concerning the projected use of these devices. The need for these measurements is obvious (...) is recommended that 1) it be determined during the technical coordination meetings how the problem was resolved by the Soviet AKPiA project, and what other requirements must be considered concerning apparatus for measuring dangerous operating conditions that are now universally mandatory; 2) in case proper apparatus is lacking, steps should be taken to purchase the apparatus from firms having the proper experience; and 3) another possibility of resolving this problem is to begin work on a solution in Poland ..."

Many questions arise. Has construction of the Zarnowiec nuclear power plant started without the necessary safeguards? Where will we obtain the foreign exchange for purchases? Is it not a bit late to develop our own designs?

And this is only one of the technical question that I know of. If other viewpoints of involved people were known, there is no doubt that the shortcomings would be more extensive. For example, there is the problem of welds. A nuclear power plant contains about 300 km of pipes subject to pressures of up to 100 atm and temperatures of up to 300 deg centigrade. When subject to ionizing radiation, welds undergo cavitation that reduce the strength of the welds. We in Gdansk have had some sad experiences with welds. For example, there is the prosecutor's report on the welds of the pipeline from Straszyn, which did not hold up for even 6 months, and breakdowns occurred practically every 10 days. There also is the pier built at Port Polnocny whose radiologically inspected welds broke down. Once again, the prosecutor had the final say in the matter.

Thus, once more I pose the question: Should we build a nuclear power plant while the rest of the world no longer does so? For example, in the United States 110 previously planned nuclear power plants have not been constructed since 1973. And those already built are converting to coal. During the same period, Canada has decided not to build 130 power plants. In 1983 alone, France has decided not to build 6 previously planned power plants. The few plants that have been placed in operation, mainly in the socialist countries, were planned in the 1960's when the "atomic fashion" reigned and everyone saw salvation in nuclear power plants. The past years of experiences have changed this optimism. The 20 years of technical delays allow us to avoid unnecessary mistakes. To date about 35 billion zlotys, or about 7 percent of the allocated 500 billion zlotys, have been spent on the Zarnowiec construction. Thus, the percentage loss is not great. The costs of eliminating the results of the Chernobyl accident exceed many times over its construction costs.

11899

Church Agricultural Committee Chairman on New Water Project

26000006a Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in
Polish 23 Aug 87 p 1

[Statement by Prof Witold Trzeciakowski, chairman of the Church Agricultural Committee]

[Text] With the intention of helping private agriculture, on 11 April the Polish primate appointed a church agricultural committee. The goals of the committee were described in a press release issued on 21 April 1987 by the Polish episcopate. The committee is made up of 11 lay persons and one clergy member. Its immediate task is to administer the funds allocated to the Agricultural Foundation. At present, we have money disbursed for this purpose by the CEMA countries. Initially, this amounted to \$4 million. Of this, \$2 million was lost because the budget appropriation deadline had passed, and \$2 million was allocated for an educational program for the Salesian Fathers men's secondary agricultural school in

Auschwitz. Caritas Belgica, to whom the European Parliament gave the money and who finances this initiative, is in charge of this. The second educational program mentioned is a rural-housewives' school—this is now being negotiated.

The next sum that we now have is a few dozen thousand dollars sent to us by the Australian Embassy, earmarked for the purchase of sheep-shearing shears. This matter is now being taken care of.

The third and most important item is \$10 million received from the Congress of the United States. This sum must be used by 30 September of this year; therefore we must speed up the implementation of this project. We plan to use this money to finance the "Water for the Countryside" program. We all know that water—both its quantity and quality—is a big problem in the agricultural economy. We have asked the Polish government to confirm the range of the materials to be imported and the exemptions from duties and taxes—on donations, receipts, and turnovers. We have also requested permission to establish a foundation to finance water-supply systems in the countryside. The party and government authorities have approved and confirmed the range of the materials to be imported and exemptions from customs duties and all three taxes. However, the establishment of a foundation is still being negotiated. The statute of the proposed foundation was submitted for approval.

Release of the money appropriated by the U.S. Congress still has to be agreed upon. The necessary application was submitted through the Catholic Release [Relief (?)] Services, an organization connected with the Catholic episcopate in America, which has agreed to take care of this for us and to purchase the necessary equipment in the United States. This organization represented us in talks with the U.S. Agency for International Development.

What does the "Water for the Countryside" program consist of? First, we will import farm machinery, which we will sell to private farmers for cash and thus obtain money with which to finance the installation of water. Second, we will begin production of scarce water-installation parts. If the foundation is established, this production will help to increase its funds. The money thus obtained will be used to cover the cost of bringing water in and removing waste water from the village farms. It is difficult right now to determine exactly the number of farms which this assistance program will cover. It will probably be a few thousand, depending on the percentage of costs borne by the direct users and the percentage that will be financed by the state, in addition to the costs that our commission will bear. Generally, the state gives loans to private farmers to conduct a campaign to install water pipelines. These loans are partially amortized. The basic criterion for the selection of villages that will be

included in the water project is a shortage of good-quality water. But only private-farm villages will be included—those that can achieve a maximum increase in production through installation of water pipelines.

It is the intention of the Polish primate, therefore, to set up a source of outside help for the Polish farmers and—if we obtain approval to establish a foundation—initiate self-help in the countryside. The foundation's activities will then not just be restricted to the distribution of money from abroad, but will also include ways in which this money can be increased.

9295

Lawyer Comments on Legal Status of Church
26000006b Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in
Polish No 32/33, 9, 16 Aug 87 p 5

[Jan Skorzynski cites excerpts from an article by lawyer Andrzej Rozmarynowicz published in PALESTRA]

[Text] The dispute about the legal status of the church in postwar Poland has been going on for many years, and details of the talks being conducted on this subject by representatives of the government and the episcopate rarely reach the public. It would be well, therefore, to learn what the well-known and esteemed lawyer Andrzej Rozmarynowicz, who has been connected with the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow for years, had to say on this matter recently. Below we quote extensively from Rozmarynowicz's article titled, "On the Legal Status of the Catholic Church in the Polish People's Republic," published in this year's second issue of PALESTRA, the organ of the Chief Lawyers' Council.

Beginning with the smallest group of physical persons, which is the family—through, for example, the tribe and the nation—all the way to the State and further, an important role in shaping the status of this or some other group of physical persons, is played by its organization. [—] [Law of 31 July 81 on the control of publications and exhibits, Art 2, item 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99 amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. It is natural that the Catholic Church, too, must have and does have, its own inside, independent organization. Its form, its outward expression, is the result of concordats, contracts, or agreements, or depends on the constitution and laws of the particular states in which the Catholic Church develops its operations and also—under certain circumstances—it depends on the degree of the commitment of its faithful. Civilized states have formed a well- or badly-defined concept of a legal person. The Catholic Church functioning in a given State can, but—as it appears—does not always have to fit into this concept.

In order for the state to function, the community of physical persons organizes itself into groups with various goals, creating legal persons. [...] The existence of legal persons is confirmed (and, as a rule, determined) by the

necessary registration. However, the Polish United Workers Party, to whom the status of legal personality would be hard to refuse, and the church also, are not dependent on any registration to establish their legal status"—according to Rozmarynowicz, who goes on to present a "traditionally historical" view of the place of the Catholic Church in Poland. He believes that the "Catholic Church in Poland has obtained a kind of 'legal-person status' through the christening of Poland over one thousand years ago," that is, "by permanently recording itself into the history of Poland from its very beginnings. All of the regulations published simply confirm this legal status, positively or negatively, depending on the legal order in effect over the past centuries."

Rozmarynowicz then, following the Code of Canon Law, calls upon the relevant canons that regulate the status of legal persons in the church. "The concept of legal entity, he continues, contained in the Code of Canon Law, has, according to the interpretation of the Supreme Court, a meaning only for the church. The state authorities restrict themselves only to observing, either negatively or positively, the internal church regulations."

"In the Second Republic,"—here the writer of the article quotes the legal historian Michal Pietrzak—"the legal status of the Roman Catholic Church was regulated by the concordat concluded on 10 February 1925. A Council of Ministers resolution dated 12 September 1945 decreed that this concordat ceased to be in effect as a result of decisions made by the Apostolic See during World War II that violated its provisions. [...] At the same time, the resolution stated that the government assures the Roman Catholic Church complete freedom of operation within the framework of the laws in effect. To this day, the relationship of the state to the Roman Catholic Church has not been defined by law."

Rozmarynowicz then refers to the agreement concluded on 14 April 1950 "between the representatives of the government of the Polish People's Republic and the Polish episcopate." [...] "Without going into the details of this agreement, there can be no doubt that in the issuance of joint statements and announcements the episcopate appears as the supreme authority of the church, speaking in the name of the 'Catholic Church', which in practice confirms—in the narrowest interpretation—the thesis of the existence of the legal status of the church as a legal entity. Thus the mention of an agreement or agreements became the first formal act to decree the position of the Church in the legal order of the Polish People's Republic."

"Art 2, par 2, of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic reads as follows:

"The church is separate from the state. The principles of the state's relationship to the church, and the legal and property status of the religious unions are defined by law."

"The thesis of an autonomous status, the existence of at least a legal church entity, can already be concluded from precisely this provision of Art 2, par 2, of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. For if 'the church is separate from the state,' this statement alone institutionalizes the church, regardless of the concordat—as distinct from all other religious unions. Therefore, in a very singular way, on the basis of a superior legal standard, the church was given a legal status different from that given to other 'religious unions.' For there can be no doubt that the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic treats the 'church' separately and differently, establishing its separateness from the 'state' (a privilege to which the religious unions are not entitled) and stating that laws define 'the principles of the relationship of the state to the church,' while at the same time accepting the fact that insofar as the religious unions are concerned, the laws define only their 'legal and property status.' Their dependence on the state ensues automatically from the law on the right to confirm statutes, which does not apply to the church."

"The separateness of the church in relation to the religious unions was confirmed—in accordance with the text of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic—by a decree dated 31 December 1956 on the organizing and staffing of church positions [...]" Its provisions apply, respectively—as the decree points out—to "other churches and religions functioning in the Polish People's Republic." "If we take into account," continues Rozmarynowicz—"that all legally functioning 'other churches and religious unions' [...] already had and still have legal-entity status, then it is correct to assume that on the strength of the provisions of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and on the basis of the previously mentioned decree dated 31 December 1956—despite its otherwise negative effects for the church—the church has a legal status that automatically includes a legal entity with all of the consequences stemming therefrom. Even more—the church also has undefined characteristics or public-law entity attributes. Logically, it is understandable that from the constitutional standpoint the church would be treated separately from other religious unions because, although the church is also a religious union, it nevertheless represents no less than 90 percent of the inhabitants of the Polish People's Republic and a considerable number of Poles scattered throughout the world, with their vast range of spiritual needs. And also—which should be strongly emphasized—for reasons stemming from its historically entrenched legal status, the Catholic Church is a special religious union, requiring a separate legal concept."

"Theory, especially that of recent years, observing the existence of the church, either did not express itself on the subject of its legal status, or, assuming that in a socialist system there is no reason for the existence of the concept of a legal entity, even denies the existence of a basis for an ipso jure recognition of the legal status of the church."

"Formally speaking—and maybe this is a paradox—the episcopate with the Polish primate at its head, does not constitute the superior authority of the Catholic Church in Poland, either as a legal entity or as a public-law entity. Politically, however, the Polish episcopate is regarded by the government as the responsible authority of the legally undefined Catholic Church.

"In light of this it can be said that on the question of the church's legal status in the Polish People's Republic as a whole, and also on the question of authority in this church, the theory of law (not politics) has come to a standstill."

Further in his article Rozmarynowicz maintains that if church organizations, such as parishes, dioceses, and seminaries, are legal entities in Poland, then that is even more reason that the church as a whole should have such status. He also argues with the position of the Supreme Court, which says that in Poland the provisions of canon law are no longer in effect because the concordat was violated. Rozmarynowicz points once more to the Constitution, which "assumed the existence of a defined legal status of the church as a whole."

"One way or another," Rozmarynowicz concludes, "we come to the same conclusion, that the Catholic Church in the Polish People's Republic has a legal status of an undefined nature as a public-law entity. Such a thesis does not stand in the way of having the legal status of the church, derived from the provisions of canon law, be in effect in the area that is not in conflict with the legal standards established by the state. And this is exactly how Art 82, par 2, of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic should be interpreted, in accordance with both the interest of the state, which is a public-law entity, and the interest of the Catholic Church, which as a whole and through its own supreme authority makes use of public-law entity attributes.

"If there should be any doubt as to what the public-law entity attributes of the Roman Catholic Church are, it would be well to remember that on the strength of the Constitution, of the religious unions only the church is separate from the state, which automatically gives this one union (the church), part of the authority over the citizenry, for whom the Constitution functions as whole. In order to answer the question, what is the authority of the Catholic Church expressed in, one would have to go back into history. But it is sufficient to also look at the "agreements,"—the church's public actions, and, without going into details, at least the fact that the Holy Father was invited to Poland jointly by both the representatives of the government and the church. After all, this, too, points to the international nature of the public-law status of the church."

Catholic Monthlies Profiled in 'POLITYKA'

26000006c Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish 22 Aug 87 p 6

[Part 2 of article by Kazimierz Kozniewski: 'Guide to the Catholic Press']

[Excerpts] Top Monthlies

The editors of thirteen monthlies, probably the most important group of Polish Catholic periodicals, do not avoid current politics.

PRZEGŁAD POWSZECHNY, founded in 1884 in Krakow by Rev Marian Morawski; moved to Warsaw in 1936. Suspended publication three times (1914, 1939, 1953), resumed three times (1916, 1947, 1982). Was always in the intellectual vanguard of Polish monthlies. People were surprised that the Jesuit Fathers were able to publish not only church-bazaar bulletins but also a periodical of such high intellectual level. Both at the turn of the century in Krakow and later in the 20th century, PRZEGŁAD POWSZECHNY was able to attract excellent writers, and publication of an article in this monthly was regarded as an honor in the educational circles. And more than one progressive writer saw himself in print there also. The present editorial staff consists of five persons: three Jesuits, a woman, and one lay person—Michal Jagiello (until the fall of 1981 a responsible employee in the PZPR CC Cultural Department).

The periodical (160 pages, circulation 10,000) is reserved and is not quick to mix into current politics. But it is always willing to engage in important, substantive, ideological disputes.

Not too much is published about religion, however there are many articles on literature, the arts, and culture. Commentaries appear on the writings of Jerzy Andrzejewski, Thomas Mann, and Gunther Grass. There is a discussion about how Czeslaw Milosz's work were received on the international arena. There is an extensive article on Jewish authors who write in Polish, and on literature which is thoroughly Polish but is written in Yiddish. There are articles on Janusz Korczak. An essay on pain and suffering in Polish literature. On the theater—Tadeusz Nyczek. On the crisis in graphic arts—Prof Jan Bialostocki. There is an editorial interview on the ethical motivations of believers and nonbelievers—an interesting panel: Anna Pawelczynska, Klemens Szaniawski, Jan Strzelecki and Michal Jagiello. It is astonishing that they said nothing of real importance. An equally colorless discussion on Polish cinematography. There was a much more interesting conversation among Stefan Kisiielewski, Aleksander Paszynski, Andrzej Wielowiejski, Kazimierz Dziewanowicz and Jan Malanowski: "What Does Social Justice Mean Today?" There were important articles: by Stefan Kieniewicz on the problem of conciliation in Poland in the 19th century; by Jan Kieniewicz on national ties and cultural affiliation; by Jerzy Szacki on the concept of a nation in sociology and history; by Elzbieta Kaczynska on dependencies

between class affiliation and national ties; by Aleksander Hertz on national and universal elements in culture. Maciej Ilowiecki writes articles propagating science. Kazimierz Dziewanowski deliberates on international politics (and on Pilsudski). Jozef Hen reports on his visit in Israel. I have mentioned only a few of the important articles appearing in 1986. This is a high-quality monthly.

POWSCIAGLIWOSC I PRACA—another singular title from the positivism era. The periodical was founded in 1898, suspended and resumed a couple of times, and after 1983 became a real monthly with ambitions. It is published by the General Curia of the St Michael Archangel Order (the editorial offices are in Marki Struga outside of Warsaw) in a print-run of 30,000.

This is primarily journalism which examines—this is perhaps how it should be termed—“religious inspiration in public activity.” This title of a conversation conducted in the editorial offices among Aleksander Hall, Marcin Krol, Pawel Spiewak and Jacek Moskwa, very accurately fits the entire text of the monthly, which, of course, has nothing in common with the title.

The editors turned to a few intellectuals with a questionnaire: “Which values are or are not subject to negotiation?” Stanislaw Stomma declines to give a clear definition of an ethical “non possumus”: ethical standards should be constant, the others should be subject to discussion. Piotr Wierzbicki declines to cite any kind of constant standards. Prof Henryk Samsonowicz gives a general and evasive answer. Prof Andrzej Tymowski does not accept compromises in relation to moral and ideological principles, but favors all and any compromises in application and propagation. Rev Jan Zieja considers only the gospel truths to be inviolable. And Stefan Kisielewski, shouting “long live negotiation!” believes that one must be oneself in every situation (in order to be only himself, he turned away from Boleslaw Piasecki in 1947).

There are a lot of articles on literature: By Andrzej Drawica on Polish and Russian writers; essays on Machiavelli; fragments of a novel by J.J. Szczepanski and a book by J.M. Rymkiewicz on Mickiewicz's youth; an interview with Tadeusz Konwicki; and an article on Leszek Smaruga's “Poem for Adults.” There are poems by Rev Jan Twardowski, by Rev Jan Sochon, an essay by Rev Jozef Riechner, “To Preach the Gospel Means to Build Ties,” an interview with Krystyna Janda, one with Prof Tadeusz Lepkowski on problems dealing with the nation, and one with Stanislaw Stomma on normalization of Polish-German relations.

The periodical wants to participate in the nation's creative life. In this, work is important, but restraint...? Restraint against what? At whom is this challenge directed? The title, at the very least, is ambiguous.

ZNAK [Sign], was founded in 1948 and is linked with the fraternal TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY ideologically, organizationally and staffwise. It is an important monthly, careful as to quality, and avoids (and in this it differs from TYGODNIK) mixing in current politics. A certain number of articles are devoted exclusively to problems of religious philosophy, but literary, historical and ethical texts predominate. There is an extensive remembrance on the late Prof Izadora Damska and her essay “The Problem of Death in the Christian Culture.” The motives of the bible in literature are examined by Karol Irzykowski, Bruno Schulz and Ludwik Flaszen. There is a great deal of material on Polish-(Christian)-Jewish relations. An article by Damian Kalbarczyk is titled “Jew-Pole.” There is an essay by Marcin Krol on Zygmunt Krasinski. The Jewish holocaust during the war is constantly being analyzed. There is the prose of Julian Strykowski, “The Reading of the Bible.” And a group discussion on the crisis in the applied arts (statements by Janusz Bogucki, Jacek Wozniakowski, Mieczyslaw Porebski and Andrzej Oseka). ZNAK gives the impression of a periodical far removed from current problems, difficult, and directed at a narrow intellectual group.

The monthly WIEZ was established in 1958 by a group of young Catholic intellectuals and in 1970 began to attract the attention of readers and authors. Its editor-in-chief at that time was Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The periodical did not avoid politics, but it concentrated mainly on matters of culture and history. The modern history department of WIEZ is undoubtedly one of the most interesting in our entire press. It is the most important and most interesting of our Catholic monthlies. One may disagree with it, but it would be hard to deny that this monthly speaks well for the group. Also, WIEZ is the most secular—insofar as its journalism and essay-writing is concerned—of all of the Catholic monthlies.

Some General Comments

A single print-run of the weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies represented in the Editorial Council of the Catholic Press in the Commission of the Polish Episcopate for Media Affairs (that is the official title of this institution), i.e., three-fourths of the periodicals which I have named and described, amounts to approximately one million. If we add to that the circulation of the Catholic periodicals not recognized by the church authorities, then a single print-run will be closer to two million.

A large number of the Catholic periodicals are sent to a closed distribution list, even if some of them are sold in the “Ruch” kiosks. Another large number is available only by subscription or through the parish. When I use the term “closed distribution list”, I am referring to the group of faithful who shut themselves up in their parishes, orders, priesthoods, etc. Only a reading of the Catholic press and an observation of its distribution gives an

awareness of the degree to which this community is cloistered. Only a few of the periodicals are read widely outside this particular community.

A reading of these periodicals by someone outside this community reveals the fact that despite their diversity they deal with the same topics, the topics prevalent in 1986. This is a natural reaction to popular events and is also the result of the direction (just as occurs with every other press) exercised by the top circles which make funds available for their publication. In 1986 the topics which occupied a large amount of space in all Catholic periodicals were: proclamations, the homilies and travels of John Paul II, the synod of bishops, the international importance of peace throughout the world (a subject given wide exposure!), the 50th anniversary of the student oaths at Jasna Gora, Jews and the relationship between Catholicism and Judaism (although treated within a very circumscribed range, always with strong condemnation of antisemitism, without examining the roots of antisemitism but emphasizing sympathy for the Jewish nation), criticism of proposals to teach religion in the schools, the 20th anniversary of the letter from Polish bishops to German bishops, and environmental protection. Almost the entire weekly Catholic press was silent on the speech made by editor Slawomir Siwka at the Chairman of the Council of Ministers' Press Committee demanding a larger allocation of paper. Finally—but this is the result of something else—almost the entire press very readily makes use of the works of two authors: the philosophical articles and essays by Rev Jozef Tischner and the poems by Rev Jan Twardowski.

It must be said very clearly: compared with the 20 years between the wars, the average level of the Catholic press rose greatly. The number of periodicals directed at intellectuals increased significantly. The "Black-Hundred reactionary" press, on the order of the erstwhile "Immaculate Knight" or the "Little Daily" has disappeared entirely.

In 1985, in a proclamation on the 19th World Mass Media Day, pope John Paul II said: "Man's fate has always been decided on the field of truth, the choice which he himself—on the strength of the freedom given him by the Creator—makes between good and evil, lightness and dark." In the Catholic press we frequently find these two words: 'Truth' and 'Freedom'! Beautiful words. But does the Catholic press really wish its reader to make—with complete freedom—a choice between the most diverse values which the priests and editors describe in considerable detail as good and evil, light and darkness? Does the Catholic press really wish to leave the people a freedom of choice, or does it teach them this freedom? Does it teach them tolerance for every choice? I get the impression that there is only one truth: the truth voiced by the Roman Catholic Church. Every other, every foreign truth is not truth, and the choice of another truth is a denial of freedom. In reality, the Catholic press is a committed and very dogmatic press.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there is a lack of any kind of critical thought, expressed, of course, from the Catholic position and operating within the framework of Catholic theology and journalism. There is a lack of ideological leaven which would update the traditional and very ossified Catholic doctrine and thought. There is a lack of any kind of critical thought in relation to the Vatican, which is especially astounding and interesting because after all, today's Catholic theological circles throughout the world are overflowing with various kinds of discussions. World theologians are now conducting great disputes of a dogmatic, political and historical nature. Why is the Polish Catholic press completely silent on these subjects? Is this related to the fact that every 18th priest in today's Catholic Church is a Pole?

Compared with the text and temperature of some sermons, the Catholic press is, from the political standpoint, somewhat more calm and considered, although after all, it is biased and sometimes even disarmingly naive in its judgments and general attitudes. Is this calm the result of experience and responsibility, a high professional level of editors in cassocks?

In 1985, in the entire Catholic press, I did not find even one literary prose item worthy of attention. Not even one worthwhile extract! Only a few verses, primarily reprints, of the known works of Rev Jan Twardowski.

9295

Reflections on Papal Visit Appear in Catholic Press

United Effort Urged

26000756a Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish
No 28, 12 Jul 87 pp 1,3

[Article by Slawomir Siwek: "Collective Effort"]

[Text] "The bishops have expressed the conviction that the Pope's teachings will induce a new collective effort to squarely face the problems which stand before our nation, including the problem of social reconciliation and peace." (Communiqué from the 221st Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate)

From everything I have read and heard on the subject of the third great meeting of the Holy Father with the faithful—with all of society—in Poland, I conclude that there will be many interpretations of the Pope's visit to his fatherland. Above all this means that the occasional comments of doubt "whether the pilgrimage will come off" made no sense. It also means that the depth of thought, both spiritual and social, which he left with us is so great that it will require much calm, dedication and time to analyze it all, as well as to put it into practice.

I would like to share several of my own reflections with the readers.

I noticed during the course of the 3rd pilgrimage (when speaking of its social significance) the pronouncement, repeated of course, but spoken with force, that the future of our fatherland depends on all those living in this land; united in their work for the common good, even though they may have their differences and may think in differing ways on how this may be achieved. These were words of hope.

The Holy Father brought us words about the strength of unifying love.

He recalled that internal peace in the nation is dependant on the continual affirmation of human rights. The social, political, economic difficulties in Poland are no doubt different from those of seven years ago. They are still great, and in some places are growing. These difficulties cannot be eliminated without a successive but continual enlargement of the framework for human initiative. This is the framework in which the nation actualizes itself as a unity and the individual as a person. This framework is created by the good of the state. But here is the problem: how is it to be understood? Between Catholicism and Marxism, or between the rulers and the ruled, because of fundamental considerations, even in the differences in professed values, there is a difference in the understanding of "the good of the state." We must deal with the problem of various approaches to the concept of the state and the problem of citizens' rights and obligations duty in the state. One side forms an ideology of the state while the other considers the state as an institution beyond ideology, one which preserves the equal rights of all. The subject is great and demands further exploration.

But meanwhile certain functions of the existing state may become subjects for discussion. (For example—the state as protector and total employer or the state as a protector of freedom for producers in economic life). Today the rulers and the ruled speak about the necessity for change. They notice the breakdown in many functions. Therefore it is necessary to think and act for change to repair these breakdowns. We will not have a different state — we cannot move it to a geographically different place. The common concern for society should be the development of a new and realistic model for its functioning so that there would be room in it for successive religious, professional, cultural, social and eventually political groups.

Moreover, the point is not merely to obtain rights for isolated, banner-carrying groups or factions. We have the "problem of the center" located between the existence of intellectual Catholicism on the one hand and the mass practice of religion on the other. But in turn the mass of Christianity is responsible ofr the fact that we exist and act in every structure. The desire for repairing a bad structure should not be the reason for eliminating an individual who reveals such intentions. The expansion

of the framework, of which John Paul II spoke, must include, I believe, the right to proclaim one's thoughts and move on to definite activities on a scale grater than the exclusive one.

In this context the call by the Holy Father becomes clearer, that the solidarity of the nation should outweigh the desire for contention and the search for enemies. The dignified course of the 3rd pilgrimage proved that society truly wants to realize these very points of the dialogue in public life as well.

These words about the social dialogue, an authentic one, conducted between all groups of Poles on the principle of equality, for a man in his subjectivity is the equal of others, were left us by the Holy Father as he left his fatherland. He left these in a literal sense, for he stressed this very thing during his farewell at Warsaw airport. Another important point: he said these words after an important meeting with the Polish bishops at the Polish Episcopate Secretariat. It is the Episcopate, together with its leader, the Primate of Poland, that has shown this way for social development in the nation through the most difficult recent years as the only one that can possibly be proposed and realized. The church in Poland has taught us through these years of enduring, though thankless, work in transforming the directions of social teachings into the realities of life. The Holy Father returned several times to the social values of church teachings and their usefulness in the face of the Polish problems during his homilies and at other appearances. My question at this time is: "How many of us, especially the so-called Catholic social activists in Poland, have taken up intense study of the pastoral social directives as to find inspiration for their activities?"

I will be bold to say, which will probably shock many, but the time period 1980-1984 has shown our basic shortcomings in this field.

Perhaps it has been easier for us during the last few years to understand the applicable words of the church about the need for obtaining social compromise as the method for extending the bounds of man's freedom in Poland. Also, perhaps first of all, in Poland with this and no other system of government and here not in some other geographic location. Then else can we fulfill the teaching: "we must think about many matters in social life, structures, work organizations to the very foundations of the modern governing organization from the angle of the young generation in Poland." (Speech to the representatives of the world of learning - KUL [Catholic University of Lublin])

I think that this direction of social activity, a difficult one, but necessary to pull the nation out of crisis, is the correct one. Personally I can see many more social communities which are lending an ear to this proposal. The strengthening of spiritual identity and sovereignty of Poles while accepting a stance "for an understanding" (even if there are signals which tend to "cool down" this

stance) is the most important thing. It is also an expression of belief that those things which were impossible are becoming possible in the course of continuing work.

This is a difficult road. The Holy Father confirmed the conviction of many that this is possible. The bishops, during the conference after the pilgrimage have stressed the demand for a renewal and development of pastoral community activities, social and professional structures. It is to take place in public and private life without discrimination.

The social teaching of the church talks about rights and duties that are connected with these matters. We generally know the rights. I believe that the time has come to remember the duty of collective effort.

Call for Social Activism

26000756a Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish
No 16, 2 and 9 Jul 87 p 8

[Article by Aleksander Hall : "Will a New Chapter Begin?"]

[Text] The stay of John Paul II on Polish soil, his meetings with millions of Poles, constitute an event whose total consequence cannot yet be comprehended. The teachings of the Pope contained in homilies and many other speeches during the third pilgrimage of John Paul II in Poland contains a wealth of religious, national, and social themes. Surely the rather sparse size of this column will not permit a penetrating analysis.

I would like to call attention to one of its aspects. John Paul II forcefully reminded us about the natural laws which serve man, nation, and specific social and professional groups. He called attention to the fact that they answer "Man's deeper nature and the dignity of the human person," but also that they are the condition for all real progress, not just personal, but social. The Pope spoke to all Poles, but also to all the factions which take part in the public life of the nation. He spoke to the government and to society.

The persons involved in governing Poland were instructed in the principles on which governmental and social order should be based. They were reminded of the true meaning of the concepts that were grabbed by the official propaganda. But there is no doubt that the basic message was directed at the society. It was a call to an activist stance, to use the rights it deserves and to perform the duties that are connected to these rights.

It is plain that the Pope's teachings strengthened the religious and moral convictions of millions of Poles, they confirmed the righteousness of our national goals, and increased the understanding of the church's social teachings. It is too early, however, to attempt an answer to the question whether on a large social scale the stance of apathy and lack of faith in a brighter future of the nation had been broken.

Will it liberate the social energy? Will it be the inspiration for activities directed by the feeling of responsibility for the common good?

One thing is certain. Time is hastening. For the first time in many years we are dealing with a favorable set of international circumstances. We can act more decisively. We can have hope that this situation will remain and become permanent. But what if it goes otherwise? Will the wasted time will not indicate the lost opportunity for an improvement in our situation. Especially when we are constantly aware of the expanding gap (or is it a gulf) which separates us from the level of economic, technological, and daily conditions of life in the developed countries of the world and our continent.

We cannot afford to be careless, nor can we wait.

Gdansk Sermon 'August Accords' Viewed

26000756a Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish
No 15, 19, 26 Jul 87 p 7

[Article by Arkadiusz Rybicki: "An Obligation to a New Responsibility"]

[Text] The pilgrimage to the Gdansk area belonged to those moments in which we were asked fundamental questions as persons and as a regional social group. We were reminded of the values which the people of the region contribute to the nation's life. Once again we were made aware that we are different, separate, not only because the specifics of working with the sea but also because we are conscious of our rights and have the will to exercise them. The one who accomplished this was "The Shepherd in the name of the Lord, the Peter of our time" - the Pilgrim Pope.

Only the power upon which he called at the altars could cause the touching of a million hearts, as happened in Gdynia, at Westerplatte, in the streets of the Tri-City, in Zaspa and all over our fatherland.

In a visible way this power was felt in Zaspa, an everyday, standard, Polish "pre-fab concrete slab" housing development as may be found in most any city or town. During the week of the Pope's visit Zaspa had gone through a real metamorphosis, perhaps its most beautiful moments. It became human, had gone through a baptism.

The journalists who had accompanied the Pope in many of his pilgrimages because of this had the opportunity to draw comparisons were fascinated by the appearance of the settlement, by the windows of the concrete buildings. These windows "spoke out". They told about the inhabitants of the housing blocks, about their desires and hopes. They spoke about their devotion to God and the social life of their faith. To so decorate this settlement and the entire Tri-City required an organized social approach, the cooperation of normally scattered individuals.

This internal activity was the sign of the anticipation of a meeting with the representative of Christ, a visible sign of the truth. The people wished to live this Truth in a festive way. The last time that such spirit was in the air in Gdansk was 7 years ago when the August Accords were signed. "They remain as a task to be accomplished", said the Holy Father. A task which can be realized through a collective, peaceful effort by the entire nation.

Using the words of St. Paul the Pope called everyone to enter a social solidarity, the most difficult to achieve, which is understood as the bearing of another's yoke. In Poland we will carry this yoke for a long time. The last war which was recalled in the liturgy at Westerplatte, the yoke of the Stalinist era, or the yoke of the economic errors of the 1970's. We will carry the yoke of the abandoned, poor and [—] [Law of 31 July 81 on the control of publications and exhibits, Art 2, item 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99 amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. "And never is the 'yoke' carried by a man alone. Without the help of others." This is a task which stands before every one of us individually and before the nation, as a collective unit. We cannot give ourselves over to apathy, lack of will and pessimism; feelings that are unworthy of a Christian. All Poles cannot emigrate. We must lift our yokes together.

The words "the struggle cannot be stronger than solidarity" were emotional, and this meant that we may not multiply our foes and create a fighting ideology, for then there is only the struggle, and then there are wrongs and destruction and a loser. Solidarity rather than struggle is our presence by the sick. They are calling us! "Often we loose heart because we cannot 'heal', that we cannot help. Let us overcome this lack of heart. It is important to come. To be by a suffering person. It may be that more than healing he needs someone, a human heart, some human solidarity." In these words we can see the deepest measure of the word so often recently repeated.

There is the temptation to surround the Holy Father's teaching in terms that are strictly political, simplifying them greatly and reducing them to a level real divisions, finding arguments for oneself. To see one's rationale in a bright light and leave the darker side to others, little matter who; to persons, institutions, the government. To forget that the Pope sees each man as a child of God and only later as a participant in society.

The Pope's teachings, which we heard in Gdansk, obligate us to a responsibility for our region, for the country. This is a responsibility which is symbolized by the Gdansk Accords, and also by the cross.

Priest Offers Interpretation

26000756a Warsaw LAD in POLISH
No 11, 2 Aug 87 pp 1,11

[Article by Fr. Jozef Majka: "The Meaning of John Paul II's Message"]

[Text] The first phase of commentary and evaluation of John Paul II's third pilgrimage to the land of his forefathers is over. This was a wave which was, unfortunately,

crested with all kinds of presuppositions, attempts at manipulation, fragments of his speeches without context, a search for something that one wished to find at all costs, and so on. This was a wave which, first of all, was without depth, in which the unified whole and the true meaning of the Pope's message was lost. Even though the phenomenon of these various reactions is in itself interesting and could become the subject of a separate study, we will not become involved in its detailed examination. It belongs to the past and we feel that the time has come for a deeper analysis of that which constituted at least a part of the unified whole, a fragment of the Pope's teaching.

The unified whole has a certain system to it, and it must be differentiated from that which may be called the scenario of the pilgrimage, although the scenario is worthy of interest. John Paul II adapts the content of his speeches and homilies to the places, audiences and the geographic-social environment. All of these places, the collections of people, and the environment are so selected so that they encompass a certain broad representation of the Polish society and at the same time create the opportunity for the Holy Father to speak and not to speak on a wide array of socio-religious subjects which fall into some part of the problems which he would like to discuss, and the teachings which he would like to leave with us. It is not coincidental that during certain speeches he returns to certain subjects which he considers crucial. It appears that it is important to him that these should stay in the consciousness and memory of all of his listeners.

Some commentators attempt to differentiate the socio-political and religious-moral problems present in the Pope's pilgrimage message. It is a misunderstanding, especially that those persons who apply this differentiation are hunting for political overtones in the Pope's appearances. This hunting brings no results and makes fools of the hunters, for this is a sign of the fact that they know not what they are writing about. In the Pope's pilgrimage message there simply are no politics, because he does not come to us (nor to any other country) to remove someone from political office and install others, or to weaken some and thus to support others against them, but to help, to lift up, to support, to encourage good, or to exhort all on their way to salvation. This is the underlying principle and this is the expression of the pastoral character of his pilgrimages. He comes also, and perhaps chiefly, to call all to prayer and reconciliation, and to pray together with everyone.

The entire teaching of John Paul II is at once religious and social, because Christianity is social in its very being. The central place in the pilgrimage teachings is occupied by the truth about the Eucharist which is the sign and presence of the sacrificial love of God for every person and the source of personal perfection and eternal salvation for all the members of the Church. It is also the most beautiful proof and expression of personal worth in

each man to whose sins the Creator replied with such mercy as to send his only begotten Son, so that such great a sacrifice for man's salvation be made and continually repeated.

A direct social implication in the mystery of the Eucharist is the truth about man's dignity which is the "red thread" in all of John Paul II's teachings, and in this pilgrimage's teachings it takes the central place, becomes the main social message. Dangers to this dignity, which are barriers in the realization of the act of salvation, have been pointed out by all the popes since Leo XIII. In his many appearances John Paul II analyzes the causes and searches for ways of protecting the dignity of the human person, to secure it against degradation.

The causes are twofold; some are internal existing in each human being, in his weakness which is the result of sin, the other are external resulting from bad social structures and the destruction of the order set forth by God. Between these two sets of factors which degrade a man there is a reverse compression. Each can give more force to the other. A place, or places, must then be found where the chain of multiplying factors can be effectively broken. This is an immediate and important, because it is not just the halting of a certain process, but the rescue of every individual. We are talking about saving the nation. The individual cannot be saved, the nation cannot be preserved unless one starts to reflect and actualize one's dignity. Just as individuality is given to a man and society, so is dignity; he builds it with a conscious daily effort.

Speaking about the external circumstances and the conditions for building the individual person's and a nation's dignity the Pope returned several times to the matter of rebuilding the social and economic subjectivity of each of us in this area. The extreme limits on the freedom of initiative cause it to disappear, while the removal of participation by working people from the process of decision making in the social and economic sphere causes a dissolution of responsibility not just for the decisions but also for all social behavior. Depriving a man, and in essence the nation, from the right to take up an initiative and silencing in him the spirit of responsibility means moral degradation for the man, an infantilization of society, something that endangers the spiritual existence of one and the other. This is how we explain the often mentioned economic carelessness, this is what feeds the national faults and "dangers" which are pointed out from all sides. This is the form taken on by the "poisoned national spirit" against which we were warned by the wise. And there was much concern revealed in what John Paul II said and did not say during the course of his last pilgrimage.

The things under consideration are the rights of the individual, but not just this or the other right but the whole, the entire social climate in which rights should be actualized and respected. Another set of things are the orientation and the behavior of those who deny these

rights through the use of political or economic power, but even more we should be concerned with the actions of those who cannot or will not take advantage of these rights because they have lost their personal dignity. The barriers which limit their social and economic subjectivity have become so great, as to become comfortable, for these have become a release from so many responsibilities that they have thought them beneficial.

The Pope's message is a call to recognize the individual's human rights and to respect each man's dignity, but his call aims at awaking the will in each of us to realize and build this dignity in each and everyone. In a synthetic (and somewhat simplified) understanding it could be said that a man's dignity is built through work and prayer, by giving worship to God and showing respect and giving help to one's neighbor. We should never forget the words of John Paul II spoken at his farewell that we can expect social and economic activity from a person only when he and his work are surrounded with the deserved respect.

The rebuilding of a man's dignity and his subjectivity can only be accomplished in the right type of cultural and social space. The Pope called attention to two dimensions of this space. One is the historical dimension, the cultural and religious heritage, the description of religious and national identity, rights with roots that have all their bright and dark aspects. Dignity cannot be built in a vacuum, it cannot be built out of lies. Another dimension is rooted in reality and the perspective of the future. The very concept of dignity implies the perspective of the future. For a Christian this is the perspective of the church and eschatology, for each man there is the perspective of the common good for the collective in which he functions, and then there is the perspective of personal development. A man deprived of these perspectives is led to powerlessness, depression, or moral prostration.

The subjectivity can also develop and improve in a specified social space. The Pope demands for all the right to build such spaces, to form communities, to link up into units, to establish institutions, to form associations and organizations. It is in these various social spaces that through the realization of various tasks in various communities and at various rungs of life that human subjectivity is actualized, and forms a man's individuality so that he "becomes human."

Speaking in many communities to many groups the Pope aims not only at awakening them, but calls them to take their proper place in the service of the church and nation, that is to develop learning, cultural creativity, develop the spirit of prayer, serve their neighbor, work in industry and on the farm, defend moral principles and their realization in daily life, and so on. All of these speeches are filled by a great concern for the individual, for his salvation, for finding his place in the church and in society so that he could become more human.

Recognizing the worth of all internal and external manifestations of human activity John Paul II gave the highest regard and honor to those who have expressed and are still expressing their dignity through sacrifice. Through the expressions of honor given by the Pope to persons who in spite of suffering, persecution, and pressure have managed to preserve their dignity, and those who in their dignity offered up their lives, he no doubt wanted to remind all Poles that there is no situation which could strip us of our dignity without our participation, though there are situation in which it is very difficult to preserve one's dignity. Difficult, however, does not mean impossible. In the context of the Eucharistic Congress the participants of the congress are not permitted to forget that Christian human dignity contains the price of Christ's blood and his sacrifice on the cross; which are present in the Eucharist. The entire congress was a great call for Polish Catholics to renew their spirit of the Eucharist, which is the love of God for man. Value your dignity, Christians!

12411

ROMANIA

Contemporary Soviet Books, Literary Scene Discussed

27000001a Iasi *CONVORBIRI LITERARE* in Romanian No 8, Aug 87 p 11

[Article by Natalia Cantemir: "The Soviet Literary Scene"]

[Text] The atmosphere currently prevailing in the Soviet literary and cultural life reminds the careful observer of the Soviet literary phenomenon of the moment that Ilya Ehrenburg presented with realistic insight toward the end of the 1950's in his novel "The Thaw," and the "signs" of this similarity are explicitly manifest in books, in the press, and in movies. Of course, history cannot merely repeat itself, considering the tight sieve through which facts and people have been passed in the intervening quarter of a century. Soviet literature and art have voiced, with a detached analytical sense, their attitude toward economic, social, and psychological phenomena, and in the process have discovered intimate corners of consistent relationships, questioned the meaning of the world, and synthesized the substance of events in the light of their own experience and of confrontations with the experiences of others. The Romanian readers of Rasputin, Abramov, Belov, Sukshin, Trifonov, Tendriakov, Okudjava, and the brothers Strugatzki will agree that the time invested in reading them was well utilized: in the novelistic climate of the respective books—which most often than not owed their originality to the flight from originality—one found the kind of tensions that make the verbal energies of the text vibrate.

Exhibiting a wide pluralistic scope, Soviet literature intelligently analyzed the traditional ethos of the Russian peasant confronted with retrospectively viewed historical changes, delicately examined the psychology of the contemporary intellectual, consistently returned to decoding the meaning of the experience of the last world war, sought new links to history, and created its own genre of anticipatory novel that is essentially very realistic. Exploring reality, it engaged in sensitizing the public to incriminating situations such as social indifference, transactional consciousness, and cowardly subordination to forces committing the crime of lese-humanity. In the past years, to the above themes was added that of ecology, which led to a genuine mobilization of literary forces, thereby serving society as a whole and the writers themselves. The end of the past year, for example, saw the successful conclusion of a campaign that had been waged for several years by dedicated writers against a project to deviate several major Siberian rivers. At the beginning of 1985, *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA*, the central organ of the Union of Soviet Writers, underwent a radical rejuvenation not only from an editorial viewpoint, but also by devoting space to the discussion of writers of the "Trifonian school," that we will be able to verify: Makanin, Kireev, Krupin, and Kim. By the end of 1985 the *Krug Almanach* was brought out in Leningrad, with the participation of both "traditionalists" and "experimentalists" (one of the older characteristics of this literary center). Along this line we take the liberty of recommending the poets Krivulin, Ohapkin, Stratonovsky, and Elena Schwartz because they will certainly be discussed.

Looking through the April (1985) issue of *LITERATURNAYA ROSSYA*, we were stopped short by the sight of a smoothly shaven face with stern features, the neck framed by a "vatermoerder" collar. It was none other than Nikolay Gumiliov, the founder of Russian Acmeism, whose verses are once again appearing in the pages of literary publications, 60 years after his death. Similarly, judging by the minutes of the discussions, the eighth congress of Soviet writers (Moscow, 24-28 April 1985) frankly discussed lags and the need to reform the literary life, and decided to bring out the writings of Zamyatin, Hodashievich, Remizov, and Sologub; to publish the complete works of B. Pasternak, Andrey Platonov, and Anna Akhmatova; and to open to the public the homes of Pasternak and Kornel Chukovsky.

The time has come to begin demonstrating the climate briefly described above with the aid of several "heralding" works. First, "The Fire (Pozhar)," by V. Rasputin, which appeared in *NASH SOVREMENIK* in 1985, and which we took to be a kind of continuation to "Separation from Matiora," although it lacked the balance of the previous work, in which serious observation assumed the form of elegiac discourse and rich symbolism, and was steeped in imagery evoking bitter and dramatic moods. Rasputin's new novel, marked by a tense, "clenched," sarcastic rhythm and by the hieroglyphics of effects dissected "live," constitutes the all embracing metaphor

of a hostile world in all its detail, which causes the destruction of the social fiber. Inner burnings erupt in a call designed to reawaken the old Russian virtues and to restore the interhuman ties in a society threatened by fragmentation. This is the exasperated cry of a genuine Slav prophet who tries to halt the advent of Sodom by urging the construction of barriers erected by the soul in the name of human freedom and dignity.

"The Sad Policeman (Pechalnyi Detektiv)" by Viktor Astafiev (OKTIABR, 1986) offers a different formula and a different diagnosis: a militiaman is compelled to give revealing evidence about social marginalia in a small town. Drunkedness, prostitution, petty crime, promiscuity, and the degeneration of human values exhaust the reality in the order of phenomenological aspects. Disarmingly frank, Astafiev focuses on the human being and on the hope that flickers in even the humblest of personages, and comes as close to melodrama as it is possible without falling into it. His style is rather Chekhovian, but interspersed with images worthy of Dostoevski and "aggressive" to the point that they elicited protests of the type, "Where has the author ever seen such a town?" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA cited them and came to Astafiev's defense).

"The Career (Karier)," published in DRUZHBA NARODOV in 1986, was written by the Belorussian Vasil Bikov, who has remained faithful to the theme of World War II. The hero of the novel wants to "dig up" the truth about a battlefield episode in which he had participated 40 years previously. The epic material that we have come to expect from this writer is blood-soaked, intrinsically tragical, and resistant to any schematization: a career officer becomes a career traitor, and the shy heroine remains forever marked by having lived with this type of man. The book suggests that the chance for a dignified humanity resides only in justice-meting memory, in the effort to clean away the tired deposits left by the flow of time, and in the resolute repudiation of all-leveling indifference.

And, finally, NOVYI MIR of 1986 gave us "The Scaffold (Plaha)" by Cinghiz Aitmatov, which once again differs radically from his previous books, "The White Ship," "Farewell Gulsari!," and "A Day Longer Than A Century." The Circassian (bilingual) writer is evidently attracted by the consecrated Russian tradition, and he uses literature as a social weapon, betting on its shaping finality even at the price of inner discordance between underlying motives: on the one hand, the dramatic diagnosis of the biological and ethical imbalance of the world, and on the other, the incursion into metaphysics through a perspective anchored in ancestral tradition. By destroying nature, people destroy their own humanity. They liquidate the prosecutor who had come among bandits and drug users in order to fulfill the mission of a kind of modern Christ. In any case, Aitmatov handles the confrontation between Christ and Pilate with a courage unparalleled since "The Master and Margarita."

Self-sacrifice is the only spark of hope in the darkness of primitiveness, while the rest of the personages "no longer hear" anything but the dull sound of the executioner's ax falling.

What is left are the questions for which Russian literature always had a predilection: "What is truth?", "Who is to blame?", "What is to be done?" These are questions that all those interested in the fate of this great literature are also asking.

12782

YUGOSLAVIA

Restructuring of State Presidency Suggested
28000231 Belgrade NOVE OMLADINSKE NOVINE
in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 87 pp 14-15

[Article by Sasa Vucinic: "Nine Lives of the Head of State"]

[Text] On 4 May 1980, when television and radio programs were interrupted so that an announcement could be read informing Yugoslavs about the death of Josip Broz, many things changed in our country from a legal point of view. With the death of Josip Broz, the function of President of the Republic was extinguished, and at the same time the Presidency of the SFRY, an organ formed in 1971, became the collective head of state.

The last 7 years—the length of time the Presidency has governed the country independently—has been long enough to put to the test all the constitutional suppositions upon which this organ rests. Anyone wanting to examine more deeply the legal essence of the position of our collective head of state could not help but notice a large number of obscurities, inconsistencies, and rather strange constitutional solutions, which today, from the present historical and temporal perspective, can perhaps be explained by the political pragmatism of the turbulent 1970's. Nevertheless, the political reality of the 1970's can be only an explanation, not a justification. For this reason, at a time when there is general discussion of constitutional changes, we are reflecting about the need for transforming the Presidency of the SFRY itself.

"Heir" to the President of the Republic

The Presidency was introduced into our constitutional system by the amendments of 1971 at the initiative of Josip Broz. If we recall the political climate in the background of the constitutional changes made at that time, which was anything but "peaceful" and "mild," perhaps some of the legislative solutions will become clearer to us.

The basic reason for forming the Presidency was part of a change in the character of the Yugoslav federation, which was supposed to express equal representation and equal responsibility for the republics and provinces in implementing the functions of the federation.

A second and equally important factor was the question of an "heir" to the President of the Republic. In the distant 1970's, obviously, a consensus had evolved that no one person in the country was even close to having the political scope and authority to be able to replace Josip Broz in this office. That is why a collective organ, composed of representatives from all the republics and provinces, was designated to take on the function of head of state. Could the politically far-sighted have perceived at that time the completely solid constitutional basis for what we call today—in the everyday jargon of politics with a largely negative connotation—the self-isolation of the republics and autonomous provinces within their boundaries?

The 1974 Constitution, in regulating the make-up of the Presidency, determined that this organ would consist of one representative from each republic and province. Thus, the principle of equal representation of republics and appropriate representation of provinces was abandoned and the principle of equal, identical representation of republics and provinces was accepted. In this way republics and provinces, as far as the head of state was concerned, were made equal.

Also new was the method of choosing members of the Presidency. While earlier the President of the Republic was chosen at a session of both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly by secret vote, the members of the Presidency of the SFRY are chosen by the republic and province assemblies. The authority of the Federal Assembly is confined to proclaiming these prior elections and to contenting itself with hearing their oaths.

Is it not illogical in this context that Josip Broz, who enjoyed the unquestioned and undivided support of both the people and the political structure, nevertheless had to pass through confirmation by secret vote of delegates to the Federal Assembly, while the present members of the Presidency need only "secure" the support of delegates from their own republic?

SFRY Assembly "Pushed Aside"

So that the obscurity concerning the election of this organ would be complete, the 1974 Constitution did not closely detail the electoral procedure except for two items: the election had to be performed at a session of all chambers of the appropriate assemblies, and the voting had to be secret. That is why today we have a situation in which in Macedonia and Slovenia members of the Presidency are elected and recalled under law, while in other parts of the country the right of nominating candidates belongs to republic (and province) conferences of SAWPY.

While the last Constitution was being adopted, the proposal was made that the SFRY Assembly be given the right to confirm the election of members of the Presidency. Along with this right, delegates of the Federal Assembly would be able to refuse to confirm a candidate's election; thus, they would actively participate in the selection of the head of state, although only with an opportunity to deny support to any of the nominated candidates. This constitutional solution would have been in accord with the proclaimed assembly system of authority in our country, in which the highest authority in the government belongs to the representative body. The present constitutional solution cannot be said to fit into the assembly system of authority and might even be said to run counter to the definition of the SFRY Assembly in the Constitution itself: "organ of social self-management and the highest organ of authority within the framework of the laws and duties of the federation."

The legal and constitutional illogicality is even greater in relation to the responsibility of members of the Presidency. Of course, we should recall that the President of the Republic was throughout (from 1953) an independent constitutional entity, chosen in the Assembly and responsible to this assembly. The Assembly had the right to evaluate his actions not only from the point of view of legal validity (whether they were in accord with the Constitution and the law) but also from the point of view of suitability (whether they were indeed advisable).

To Whom Are Vrhovec and Djuranovic Responsible?

According to current constitutional solutions, members of the SFRY Presidency are not directly responsible to the SFRY Assembly, so the Constitution establishes neither individual nor collective responsibility for members of the collective head of state in accordance with—as the Constitution itself says—"the highest organ of authority within the framework of the laws and duties of the federation." Here is where the professors of constitutional law are troubled the most; they must defend, before their students, the thesis that a parliamentary system of authority has been established in our country (the highest organ of authority is a representative body), but the head of state is not responsible to this highest organ. A little illogical? A little?!

Members of the SFRY Presidency under the constitutions of the majority of republics and provinces are directly responsible to the assembly of the republic or province which has delegated them to the Presidency. The constitutions of Montenegro and Croatia do not contain such provisions. Does this mean that Josip Vrhovec and Veselin Djuranovic are not responsible to anyone?

Thus, republic and province assemblies have the right to make an individual evaluation of the overall work of their member in the Presidency, and politically this

member is directly responsible to them for his activity in this organ. Along with the aforementioned right to choose members of the Presidency, republic and province assemblies—although in an indirect manner—become partners with the federal assembly because the collective head of state (which is chosen by and is responsible to the republic or provincial assemblies) is indubitably in partnership with the SFRY Assembly in governing the country.

Why the Ninth Member?

In our discussion up to this point, we have only analyzed the position of eight members of the SFRY Presidency. The ninth member, who came to this position *ex officio*, is the "leading man" of the party. With the introduction of the ninth member of the Presidency 13 years ago, the framers wanted to make it possible for the party to influence the most important state decisions more easily and explicitly. However, can we justify the position of the ninth member in the Presidency in view of the long-established principle that party and state should be separated quite distinctly in our sociopolitical system? Having been "separated" from the state, the LCY decided to take on the role of an ideological avant-garde, while surrendering day-to-day political decisions to state organs.

In such a system of separate roles—and, we repeat, proclaimed long ago—all state employees might hypothetically be "non-party." Therefore, if we wanted to be quite consistent in respecting what has been proclaimed, the ninth member of the SFRY Presidency would be difficult to sustain. If we wanted to emphasize the

working-class character of the state with the ninth member of the Presidency, the trade-union president might be the right choice. And the president of SAWPY, as the leading person in an organization which includes the greatest number of Yugoslavs, might conceivably have a claim. However, the only consistent legal solution would be to keep the number of members of the Presidency at eight. Providing, of course, that the "eight-headed" chief of state is a lasting solution.

Recently, serious discussions have been held concerning proposals by the SFRY Presidency for changing the Constitution, in which some participants have already exceeded the limits given in the original proposal. Discussions have also touched on transforming the Presidency itself, as well as its connection with the SFRY Assembly. The most logical solution would be for the former to be responsible to the latter. Proposals also exist for the Presidency to be chosen directly as the only way to acquire the genuine authority needed.

Common to all these proposals is the desire to find improvements to the government "machinery," which obviously needs an "overhauling." We hope that this contribution will be so interpreted, especially in view of the fact that the subject of consideration here has exclusively been the legal regulation of the position of head of state.

If authority and politics can be separated then we want to leave aside the latter.

9548/6091

HUNGARY

Joint Exercises With Soviet Troops in Asia Described

'Changed Requirements, Modernized Technology'
25000476 Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian
18 Jul 87 pp 1, 8-9

[Text] The modernization of artillery combat technology, the development of combat principles, and the emergence of self-propelled materiel necessitates the review and modification of various regulations and special instructions. A reduction in response time, prompted by modern combat technology, demands the development of maneuvering ability, as well as an increase in mobility and organization.

It has become possible and necessary to expand the choice of artillery response, and to tailor combat activities so as to be responsive to the requirements of our age in repelling enemy attacks and providing combat support to friendly forces under actual combat conditions.

These circumstances prompted Major General Jozsef Siska's command, the rocket and artillery headquarters of the Hungarian People's Army, to provide a methodological demonstration of the new strategy's practical application.

The presentation was the final step of an extended process. On the basis of experience accumulated over the years, the presentation was preceded by theoretical analyses of the action plan and by an exchange of views concerning different ways of implementation.

At this presentation various subordinate units of the artillery performed sharpshooting pursuant to the new combat principles. The performance was observed by the artillery chiefs and by higher-level unit commanders.

In spite of the simulated combat conditions and the extreme heat, during the two-day exercise the designated subordinate units demonstrated a high level of expertise and coordination. All tasks were performed with impressive self-confidence within the established time limits.

Following the observation of individual firing tasks and movements, the participants had an opportunity to analyze their performance, to raise questions, and to express opinions, as well as to familiarize themselves with the new weaponry.

One of the exercises involved an artillery attack with a 152-mm gun-howitzer. The target was an assumed battalion command post. Upon receipt of orders, feverish activity could be observed among the lookouts. Commands and data were called out, new marks were placed on maps, and reconnoiterers were busy jotting down their findings. Standards for intelligence place time

constraints on such activities also. But strict time limitations did not outwit the lookouts. A few minutes after receiving his orders, artillery unit commander Colonel Dezso Bistyak glanced at his stopwatch and was able to sit back and relax. The units were ready to fire.

Words of Recognition

Soon thereafter the colonel's contentment was substantiated by a series of huge detonations and by pieces of macquette flying all over. His soldiers made their calculations not only fast, but also accurately.

One after another the targets disappeared in smoke clouds. Not a single stone was untouched at the assumed battalion command post.

The leaders of the methodological presentation were not the only ones satisfied with what they had seen. Some former artillery officers who had been invited by Major General Siska observed the events with expert and critical eyes.

Headed by Retired Lieutenant General Ferenc Ugrai, virtually every member of the artillery division of the retired commissioned and noncommissioned officers club of Budapest was present to witness the performance of today's artillerymen. Most of them, as for instance Retired Colonel Geza Kos, a member of the Red Brigade partisan group, are recognized as having cultivated this 'trade' for many years. Thus, their words of praise were not spoken as a matter of courtesy. Somewhat moved by the events and by memories, they stated firmly that today, too, the weapons are in the firm hands of experts.

It is hoped their words of recognition have reached the men of First Lieutenant Zsolt Kovacs, commander of one of the implementing units. We sought out the various batteries during the final rehearsal. Without the activities of these batteries the methodological presentation could not have taken place.

Work that took place in the firing positions was controlled by Second Lieutenant Lajos Jakob. The young division chief and his soldiers spent more than two weeks at the practice field. Before the artillery demonstration it was their task to arrange for the shooting exam of students from the Lajos Kossuth Military Academy. Although pursuant to the curriculum the military academicians were scheduled for shooting practice only during the winter, thanks to extra duty the class may be credited already with a series of target practices. It thus came as natural that their firings were responsive to commands. There were no questions concerning the effectiveness of their shots.

Considering the constant stress in such wholesale operations as well as the hot weather, there may have been some slipups. But, as everyone knows, these were not the

result of a lack of preparedness, but rather of excessive diligence. No one is being beheaded for slipups—things get straightened out with a few brief commands.

Clockwork Accuracy

When, for instance, one soldier fired a cannon a few moments early, the unit commander instantly called the division chief on the telephone. In turn, he instantly called the battery first officer.

"You know how things like this happen—he tells me off, I tell you off, and that poor soldier at best kicks the cannon. So then, pay more attention!" And thus the case is closed pursuant to the rules of chivalry.

Consistent with the methodological demonstration plan, self-propelled howitzers and rocket launchers arrived with clockwork accuracy. The soldiers' preparedness with these weapons was also demonstrated. Batteries, division salvos, dispersions, firings, ear-piercing detonations, gunsmoke, and dust appeared as a compelling and fearful attraction only to outsiders.

Following completion of individual tasks, evaluations made at various observation points proved that the coordinated work of the participating troops and units served well the fundamental purpose of the methodological demonstration: to increase the combat efficiency of the artillery.

Extreme Heat, Intercultural Camaraderie

25000476 Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian
18 Jul 87 pp 8-9

[Text] Rocket Launchers in the Desert

Inside the barracks the heat is unbearable. This is so particularly on the top floor, under the flat roof. For a while we watched television, but drops of perspiration in our eyes made this kind of entertainment unpleasant. We concentrate on the evening program: our hosts have organized a friendly meeting with political workers. The sons of three nations—Soviets, Bulgarians, and Hungarians—will get acquainted there. We will familiarize ourselves with the rich and tastefully arranged company museum, in which the added attraction is that the air is cool. The friendly meeting scheduled to last one hour thus extends to three hours. Three topics provide the central themes for the meeting: the landing of the West German small aircraft on Red Square, attracting people to pursue a military career, and the fight against coarseness in the army. One may conclude from what was said that the situation in the three nations is similar, and thus the development of a common point of view is not difficult.

Learning, Practicing

The atmosphere is lively at the enlisted men's quarters. Those who arrived last are taking showers. They cannot complain: the hot water heater mounted on a truck provides ample lukewarm water in the bathroom. Spirits are high, there are no depressed soldiers; there are no grumbling and no complaints. Instead, one hears opinions like this: "This experience will provide some stories even for my grandson. I could never have hoped to get from Fuzesgyarmat to Asia. At least I'll refresh my knowledge of Russian."

"I would not have dreamed of succeeding to get here," according to Private First Class Bertalan Szabo. "One of my fellow villagers has fulfilled his service with this unit already, but he did not have a chance to fire a single live shell. I am looking forward to tomorrow when I will see the value of what we have learned and practiced so far. In my view, this will be an experience we will never forget. After all, this is the meaning, the essence of military service. All of us feel this way.

He turns to a dark-skinned soldier next to him.

"Listen, Ali, don't check your watch all the time because the batteries will run out. And you cannot replace the batteries in this desert. Instead, tell me what time it is because I do not have a watch. To reward you I will let you have some tomato juice."

The dark boy's face breaks into a broad smile and assures the private that he will always be happy to tell the time if he receives tomato juice.

On the following day we were prepared to leave for our artillery positions, but not even the cold trace of our car could be found. "Cold" may be a bit of an exaggeration, because the hot air is vibrating over the sand; nevertheless, the UAZ vehicle was nowhere to be found. As it turned out later on, an overly zealous captain requisitioned the car, so as to be able to haul the luggage of superior officers who arrived to observe the practice. Two colonels and two lieutenant colonels were screaming, in part to release their anger, in part because of the heat. Once they let off steam they ran to take a shower.

But taking showers makes no sense anyway. Major Ferenc Daroczi just took a shower, and it was in vain.

"My towel dries, but I get completely wet on my way from the shower to the fifth floor," grumbles the suntanned officer.

It actually cooled off today. Yesterday at noon the thermometer registered 52 degrees [Celsius]. Later on a soldier covered the thermometer with his cap. As he later explained, the thermometer is an expensive instrument. It measures up to 55 degrees; at that point it breaks. They did not have the time to cool off the thermometer by showering it with water.

In Eleven Minutes

In the afternoon the observers arrived and our car was returned. Training superintendent and deputy minister Lieutenant General Istvan Narai, antiaircraft and air force commander Lieutenant General Janos Stock, and National Defense Committee chairman Laszlo Gyuricza board a bus together with the rest of the delegation and depart to see the troops. After a vexatious trip that lasts thirty minutes they arrive at the long-range antiaircraft rocket complex. The deputy minister receives the commander's report, and the observers acquaint themselves with the technology and with the tasks. All signs are favorable. On the basis of the foregoing, some good results may be expected, even though good results are conditioned by excellence in sharpshooting. We will be able to tell in a few hours.

Shortly thereafter the committee settles at the observation point, and we get on our way with Major Lajos Lakatos. It is characteristic of this major that he sits in a car only if he drives it. He is the only first class rally-contestant of the Hungarian People's Army. Out here he is as familiar with every sand dune as he is with his palm. Further, one should know that the time available until the beginning of the sharpshooting practice is 12 minutes. Fifteen kilometers must be traversed in that time period. This would be a hopeless endeavor for other drivers, but not for this major.

"Hold on," he says, while he shifts into front-wheel drive.

"Do you want to take off?" I inquire, because we start out like an airplane. Then I kept quiet because I would have bitten my tongue off the way the car bounced. With one hand I tried to save my photographic equipment from total destruction, with the other I tried to hold on to a case of refreshments that continually popped out from under the rear seat. The UAZ odometer marks seventy miles per hour, and we are producing a dust trail several hundred meters long. The driver of a gigantic truck coming the opposite way threw a cross on himself as he noticed our car, then quickly began to carve the foundations of a new road in the desert. I was about to tell the major that we have just lost a comrade-in-arms by squeezing him off the road, but then we arrived. The trip took eleven minutes.

12995

Report on Basis, Extent of Military Censorship
25000411b Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
14 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Albert Gomori, chief censor of the Hungarian Army]

[Text] In every state of the world, military secrets are protected, and care is taken to ensure that the mass communications media do not leak information that

could damage the interests of national defense. We conducted an interview on Hungarian practice with Colonel Albert Gomori, chief censor of the Hungarian People's Army and director of the military censorship section of the Hungarian People's Army's general staff.

[Question] What is the nature of censorship in our country?

[Answer] After our liberation, Hungary put an end to the kind of censorship that monitored the contents of all products of mass communications in advance for political, religious, and other points of view. In our own day we engage in institutional censorship only to protect military secrets.

[Question] Does this exist in every country?

[Answer] Wherever there is an army. If a society has secrets—and what society does not?—those connected with its defense are the ones most jealously guarded. In addition, some countries have political censorship, but this is usually denied even in dictatorships, and they will not interfere crudely with the work of journalists, except in acute situations which endanger their existence. In our country freedom of the press is guaranteed by the Constitution. Everybody has the right to publish his views and his creations in the press, provided that he does not offend the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic. The exercise of that right is facilitated by last year's press law, which is consistent with the substance of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

[Question] Is there a legal foundation for the activities of military censors?

[Answer] Yes, there is. Our work is regulated by those decrees of the Government, the Ministry of the Interior, which relate to the protection of secrets, and by the internal instructions of the Minister of Defense. According to these, any product of mass communications—sound, pictures, film, video, or printed matter—which contains any military information relating to our country's defense, our allies or the Western countries must be submitted to the military censors before publication. An exception is made if the author took his data from material already published in the press.

[Question] Censorship does not hold back the journalist's pen?

[Answer] We cannot use the claim of furnishing authentic, accurate, and rapid information as an excuse for giving away our guarded secrets. Neither we, nor any other country can afford to do this. What is the most dangerous thing to military secrets is the thirst of journalists for sensational stories, their flaunting of how "well-informed" they are, which can cause irreparable

damage. If an individual item of information not intended for the public comes to light, we cannot ask for a correction, because that would confirm the importance of the item.

[Question] Nevertheless, today our People's Army is "open." It is characteristic of the change in the situation that today we can talk about censorship work, which would have been unimaginable even half a year ago.

[Answer] The military leadership recognizes the significance of the press, and therefore it regards employees of the press as its partners. We consider it important that the civilian population be more and more fully informed about the life and battle-readiness of our armed forces. We have many problems which can be solved only in cooperation with civilians. Among these, for example, are patriotic and internationalist education for national defense and physical preparation for military service. We might also mention the joint struggle against harmful social phenomena, including alcoholism. We must, from time to time, account to the public for the money spent on us. In the accelerated flow of information the role of the military censor becomes more important, but this does not diminish the responsibility of chief editors and journalists to protect secrets.

[Question] Extreme secretiveness usually gives rise to distrust, and without trust you cannot sit down to a negotiating table. And yet in the shadow of a nuclear holocaust this is more important than ever.

[Answer] That is quite true. Trust and "adequate security" can be achieved only if we do not mislead our negotiating partners, if we give each other accurate information concerning our military hardware, and permit on-site inspection.

[Question] You mean that the protection of secrets was invented only for use against journalists?

[Answer] The range of military secrets is constantly changing. For example, not so long ago we had an unheard-of degree of protection for our hardware. Today there is no weapon on which some information has not appeared in the press. Secrecy has also been made superfluous by the world-wide traffic in armaments.

[Question] Well, then, what kind of information is secret?

[Answer] The structure of the army, its territorial deployment, its supply system, the details of recruiting and budgets, weapons which are now in the experimental stage, the principles of operation of those items of equipment which have already been incorporated into the system, the plans that have been made for applying technology, putting it to practical use, and many other items of information similar to these. For intelligence agents, war begins in peacetime. In an armed conflict, the enemy needs every item of information, and therefore vast arrays of machines are being utilized

to process, among other things, the news source regarded as the cheapest: the press. Data relating to the military strength of each country are being put together like a mosaic and updated daily. For example, when we established one of our training centers, we observed that within one year the location and assignment of the installation could be accurately deduced from what was printed in the national press, because the army is an inseparable part of its civilian environment.

[Question] I have been told that we also protect secrets other than military ones.

[Answer] The territory of our country is not merely a sightseeing exhibit for foreign tourists. Therefore, for example, permits are required for taking aerial photographs and for photographing individual installations.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Photographs of civilian factories, plants, power stations, railroad terminals, and transport junctions are exceptionally suitable, for example, for the training of saboteur groups.

[Question] You could take excellent photographs of these from satellites too.

[Answer] Aerial photographs taken from satellites are used basically for peaceful purposes. The Sputniks, the Landsat satellites of the United States, the French Spot satellites take agricultural, meteorological, geological, and other similar photographs which are, of course, valuable to soldiers too. These reflect primarily the changes taking place in the Earth, in the terrain. Your assertion is true in the case of satellites made for military purposes, but these are aimed photographs and extremely expensive, so that they are used only in exceptional cases. Even in those cases, it is not certain that the photographs will be usable. The intelligence information obtained from space must be confirmed by other sources, such as agents on the ground. We know that it is useless to protect certain kinds of information, because sooner or later they will get hold of it, but it is not a matter of indifference how soon and at the cost of what sacrifices they do so. The censor exists to make sure that we ourselves do not furnish data through the press, at the cost of a few fillers.

[Question] Does this protection of secrets cost us a lot?

[Answer] This cannot be measured in forints. But if you are asking how many of us there are, I can tell you: there are only a few professional military censors who are in touch with the central mass communication media. In the field, the higher-level units have specially appointed censorship officers, who take care of this assignment in addition to their other military assignments, as a "sideline."

Comprehensive 2-Day Civil Defense Exercise in Vac

25000410a Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
10 Jun 87 p 4

[Article by Istvan Harsasi]

[Text] The "bomb bursts" slowly died away and were replaced by the sounds of sirens screaming. Following the firemen, the various ambulance units arrived one after the other. In the sea of flames and among the ruins a truly gigantic struggle was beginning, since there still were, after all, some "wounded" in the cellars! The first of the "injured" soon appeared, supported by some sooty-faced girls wearing helmets.

A county civil defense exercise was being held in Vac and its vicinity. The exercise was being viewed by Lajos Krasznai, first secretary of the Pest County Committee of the MSZMP; Vice Marshal Dr Lajos Morocz, under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Defense; Major General Dr Mihaly Berki, national commander of the PVOP [National Civil Defense Command]; and leading representatives of the county and the associated units of the armed forces. The two-day exercise was carried out with the active cooperation of the population.

"Radiation Danger" and the Smell of Bread

In the streets of Kisnemedi a car with siren screaming disrupted the weekend, which had promised to be a peaceful one. The loudspeaker car of the civil defense system was informing the population that the exercise had begun.

"Warning—radiation danger!" shouted the crackling voice from the loudspeaker. "We urge everyone, in the interest of his own safety, to get behind closed doors and carry out the defense assignments!"

The people of Kisnemedi were not at all upset by the unusual announcement, since they had been preparing for the exercise for a number of weeks. The streets emptied, and the windows of the houses, the entrance of the general store, and the openings of the wells were all covered with plastic film curtains. At the site of the "Golden Ear of Grain" production cooperative everything was likewise covered with film, but under it work was going on: this was where they were setting up the emergency slaughterhouse.

In the yard of one of the houses—covered by a protective film, of course—several women were bustling about near a genuine old-fashioned oven from the "prewar days." Mrs. Laszlo Kusko, the owner of the house, handed round the freshly baked bread with understandable pride. According to Council President Andras Hegedus, the slaughterhouse and the improvised bakery represent only one possible variant of how small villages can achieve self-sufficiency. In any case, the "simulation" was a perfect success.

"Pint-Sized" Gas Masks

At first glance the vestibule of the kindergarten seemed quite as usual, with little shoes lined up in front of the closets and little coats hung on the hooks, but above them there were little gas masks. From their dimensions it was not hard to see that they had been designed for children's heads.

The kindergarten children—little people aged three and four—were trying to pull the unusual garments over their heads, and there was excited chatter. They were finally getting a chance to play something that the adults did—they could play "spaceship" and "diver."

"Fortunately, the children still look on this as a game," said Mrs. Istvan Kis, the kindergarten teacher. "It would be horrible if they had to realize the real purpose of the gas masks!"

The little army needed help from the surrounding adults to finish dressing up. But the adults were all standing around in embarrassment—both the soldiers and the civilians. Perhaps this was when it really became clear to everyone that armaments don't spare children any more than they spare other people.

Is This How It Would Be?

The "air force" of the civil defense forces assembled on the island consisted of two kiteborne observers. Their task was to reconnoiter the opposite shore—the city of Vac—which had been struck by the air raid. The ambulance units gathered from the area of the entire county moved in a procession, one after another, towards the ferry. The trucks and working machines rolling onto the ferry lined up on deck in "military" fashion. Next to them stood the men, wearing helmets and bluish-gray uniforms. They wore no tags to indicate where they came from, and the most one could do to ascertain the composition of the gray-uniformed army carrying the tools was to deduce it from the inscriptions on their vehicles.

In downtown Vac, dense smoke was rising skyward. In a side street, flames were shooting up from several condemned buildings. The air was filled with the ear-splitting sound of roaring planes, exploding bombs, and human screams. Farther on, beyond the cordon, there was a large crowd of spectators. They knew that it was an exercise, and yet their eyes still showed genuine shock: Is this how things would be if it happened?

A Hundred-Year-Old Victim

"The people can all feel the seriousness of their task," said a man next to the soot-covered walls. "But it's better to have the exercise now than go through the real thing," he added sagely. It could be seen from his features that he was well past the best years of his life. Tibor Dubniczki had arrived from Visegrad.

Opposite the burning building, at the edge of the crowd, stood an old lady. She must have seen real ruins and lived through real air raids. She was clasping her hands in front of her and speaking softly:

"Our mulberry tree is gone! And it was maybe a hundred years old already."

The house being destroyed had belonged to Mrs. Jozsef Polyak, a widow. She had spent a large part of her life there.

"It's not the house I'm sorry about," she said without being asked. "After all, it was in pretty bad shape. I got a nice apartment instead, where I can live comfortably. It's just my poor mulberry tree. It stood right under my window."

And so the "air raid" at Vac did claim a "victim" after all

13285

HUNGARY

Growing Unemployment, Public Work Projects Viewed

25000439a Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian
25 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Csaba Vertes: "Public Work"]

[Text] The labor force market has changed a great deal during the past year. There are significantly fewer positions available and significantly more people looking for employment. And the demand by every employer for that once so sought after special class of worker, the unskilled worker, has declined dramatically. At the end of the first quarter of the year, more than 10,000 people were registered as unemployed; more than half of them were unskilled workers. Although this was not caused by rapidly accelerated technical development or mechanization. This is the twilight of the age of the employment of "straw men" and the dawning of the age of public work. Because a solution must in some way be found—while also avoiding prolonged unemployment—to employ the people with no training, a low level of education, no skills, people whom increasingly no one wants.

According to the latest reports the number of unfilled jobs reported in the first quarter of the year has dropped to 57,000 (there was a time just last year when there were more than 80,000 positions waiting for applicants); and the number of unemployed—in official parlance "those seeking jobs who have no employment"—registered during the first quarter of last year increased from exactly 1,400 to 10,381. Compared to the third quarter of last year the number of those who have waited longer than one month for suitable work rose from 793 to almost 2,000. (Not so long ago we were still able to report that more than 80 percent of those seeking jobs find new employment in less than a month).

And although the amount of work in all personnel groups have decreased during the past 5 quarters the earlier trend has remained unchanged: skilled workers are in the most favorable position; more than half the unfilled jobs are for them, although they are the least mobile. Thus, in their case, the demand is much greater than the supply. The need for semiskilled workers is rapidly declining (it hardly exceeds 20 percent of the demand), and unskilled workers are in no better position. Only 8,600 of the 57,000 unfilled positions are open to them. (Let no one think that some kind of cautiously beginning, but nevertheless characteristic structural transformation program, is the cause of these supply-demand ratios. It is simply that within the context of the currently effective wage regulations it is worth making work force reductions, and after all, who is it that employers dismiss the first and the easiest? Those without training, the semiskilled and especially the unskilled workers who were hired in seemingly countless numbers out of wage administration considerations to conform to former wage regulations.)

For the sake of completeness we mention that the demand for white collar workers has also not grown significantly except for the category of management employees, but even in their case there are hardly 2000 available positions. The supply of white collar workers also increased but is nowhere near the level of demand.

It may be deduced from the listed facts and data without going into any special details that those particular structural employment problems—which have been discussed for a long time—have become more serious over the past five quarters and are primarily concentrated in certain geographical areas. In Baranya, Heves, Nograd, Somogy, and Tolna counties there are not more than six or seven jobs for every 10 unskilled workers seeking employment. In Borsod, Szabolcs, and Szolnok counties it is even less than this. In certain areas of Szolnok county, for example in Tiszakecske, people, all those who are willing to accept the bureaucratic procedure of the employment agency—and this is not meant in a pejorative sense—have been literally standing in lines at employment agency offices for months. That is to say, there are many who are unwilling to accept it either out of shame or who do seek help fearing reprisal, but are wary of officially registering. (Not incidentally, amidst this and increasingly more characteristic labor market conditions the concept of "publicly dangerous vagrancy" which, even during the time of full employment, was pursued by the police, should perhaps, in some way, be re-evaluated. Today, for example, in Szabolcs or Borsod who are the work shirkers? And who among them is "a danger to the public"? What is its precise criteria today under the present circumstances?)

We only know—know?...or rather just suspect—that those "waiting for placement" are the ones who are getting into increasingly more difficult position. In general, it is not the semi- or unskilled workers, but only those among them who frequently change jobs, who have not even finished grade school, who were dismissed for disciplinary reasons, who are peddling their nth working papers, who lead disorganized lives, the alcoholics, that is, all those who have been definitively been written off by the labor market. They are the potential criminals, especially if their occupation which provides their livelihood may not be assured. There are not many of them, hardly 8,000 for the time being, according to estimates (although more by our estimate), but their presence in any event represents a social problem that needs to be solved.

Public work (newly called work for the public good) was invented for them. There were experiments in this matter in two counties, Baranya and Szolnok, but they failed. Primarily because there was hardly a cent for the experiment. The originators and implementers of the experiment thought that enterprises would pay the wages and costs of the workers assigned to them but not wanted by them. They did not pay. Understandably so. The ABMH [State Wage and Labor Affairs Office], under whose aegis the test was conducted, could not pay since

there is no money for the implementation of timely employment policy measures. And without any money the theoretical decisions are worthless.

(With regard to this entire sequence of events it should be asked: Was it sensible at the time to disband the ministry department which was responsible for and directed and coordinated—and possessing financial resources—so much of the employment matters that needed to be done? Was it truly possible that while we were agonizing over the possibilities of implementing large-scale structural rebuilding programs— and also formulating decrees regarding the same—its manpower management and social policy consequences could, just like that, be “assigned” to “local agencies”? Without the intervention and financial aid of an efficient state administrative organization? But these are just parenthetical questions...)

Back to the public work. The financial prerequisites for its establishment have been created. The larger share of it must be borne by the state budget and the smaller share by the local councils. The ratio is 70-30 percent. For the time being, the total sum in question is just 30 million forints, and this sum makes possible the employment of not more than 600 people for the public good.

What constitutes work for the “public good”? Above all, the work that has to be performed in community institutions.

Not as a matter of force but rather as an opportunity for work. And there is plenty of opportunity, because, according to preliminary estimates, there would be openings for this type of work at more than 700 community funded plants and nearly 800 city and village management enterprises.

The employment of the workers would not burden enterprise budgets at all; however, the originators of this type of employment expect that in this way there will be enough workers to maintain the recently more neglected areas.

Public work workers would be given fixed-term contracts—and occasionally for a total of two months—which may, but need not, be extended. In the case of unreliable or sloppy work it will not be extended under

any circumstances. (Incidentally, what will happen to those who may not even be employed for public work?) According to current thinking, the maximum monthly income will be 4000 forints, but where applicable, performance based wages may also be used. Although 4000 forints a month is not much, it may hardly be called little compared to the monthly income of a college educated professional starting a career. And after all, the needs of future unskilled workers could hardly exceed the needs of professionals starting careers...

This work opportunity may be offered to anyone who has no prospects of finding a job placement within 30 days, but if someone does not take advantage of the opportunity the employment agency may still not deny assistance to the individual in finding a new job, to the extent that they are familiar with and most importantly may consider people who have been unemployed for more than a month.

This problem also indicates how the more complicated labor market causes many characteristic problems for certain groups, but not all of society. Work for the public good has, for some time, been an option and a method as tools of employment policy—and will hopefully expand. Employment is only planned to start 1 July—and even then only in five counties—but public opinion is already negative; it misunderstands the intent of the labor affairs office regarding this, and in some way identifies this work opportunity with forced labor. Hopefully, it has already been discovered that this is absolutely not the case. But this consistently observable phenomena is nevertheless to be noted, because in connection with this it may also be asked whether the information campaign “presentation” of the measures—which do not have overwhelming support but which nevertheless is of interest to the citizens, because it affects some of them directly—is suitable and whether its methods are effective and practical?

And one more issue: The 30 million forints funding for the financing of the public work does not seem to be very much even today. Will the state budget assume—is it able to assume—a greater financial burden in the event of the hoped for success of the endeavor? Because once the program is started one has to expect more than just a few hundred people.

HUNGARY

Economic Difficulties of White-Collar Workers, Intelligentsia

25000434a Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM
in Hungarian 12 Jun 87 p 16

[Article by Istvan Tanacs: "Poverty Certificate"]

[Text] I sat down with apprehension in the rector's office of the Jozsef Attila University of Arts and Sciences in Szeged. The furniture was tasteful; the whole room radiated a sense of well-founded dignity. The thick walls guarded the spirit of worthy rectors from times long past. Dr Bela Csakany, dean, doctor of mathematical sciences, and the present director of the university, asked me if I wanted some coffee. At this early hour he always drinks an espresso. We can make an interesting distinction here. If the guest accepts the coffee, the rector will indulge in some social coffee drinking; if not, then just for his own enjoyment, he tosses 5 forints to the secretary.

I told him that last year I had read a commentary in ES [ELET ES IRODALOM]. Its author, a scientist, received a certificate from the local council, stating that he would not have to pay the mandatory developmental tax. Such a waiver is given to families in Hungary whose income per family member averages below 2,500 forints a month. It is common knowledge that 2,500 forints is regarded as the minimum income in Hungary. Hence, the author regards this waiver from the local council as a kind of modern poverty certificate.

"How does this story fit in?" I asked JATE's [Jozsef Attila Tudomany Egyetem] rector. Dr Bela Csakany smiled.

"For the time being I am still paying teho [teruletfejlesztési hozzajarulas (development tax)]," he answered. Then he listed several people whom I could ask questions concerning the lifestyles of university educators and researchers.

"The losses in the metallurgical industry came to 22 billion forints. They promised 4 billion forints to this branch of science through the OTKA [expansion unknown] grant program, but they held back part of it," said Dr Janos Nemcsok, a university professor in the biochemical faculty at JATE.

"The government senses that the ship is sinking but they refuse to bail out. First they will throw out a 20-ounce precision instrument, and then wonder why we are not rising."

Dr Nemcsok graduated in 1972 as a biologist. For 7 years he worked in Tihany, at the Limnological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

"In 1979 Professor Boros invited me to the biochemistry department of JATE. He tempted me with a chance to help them establish an environmental protection program at the institute. This coincided with my own plans: the early detection of water pollution and the possible ways of preventing mass fish kills through enzymological methods. Colleagues at Tihany said I had to be crazy to give up a secure academic research position for the sake of such uncertainty. When I came here, even the grant money wasn't there to pay my salary. With two students I installed the aquariums myself. In 1981 I became assistant professor. In 1986 I defended my doctoral dissertation and became a professor."

"A fast career...."

"Once my father asked me how much money I earned. When I told him, he sighed, disappointed, and said, "My son, you are probably not very good at your profession." Before he retired, my father was a certified mechanic, a first-class toolmaker in a large factory. For most of his life he worked for starvation wages, but bore it well. At that time they said to him that times would be hard for his generation, but the sacrifice would make a better life possible for their children."

Dr Nemcsok's salary is 7,400 forints monthly. His wife, who also graduated as a biologist, is a librarian at the medical school and earns 5,500 forints. They are raising three children. Simple mental calculation determines that they are almost 1,000 forints per capita ahead of the "development tax" minimum allowable income. Dr Nemcsok saw a job advertisement on television for the Budapest Transit Co. They are offering 8,000-13,000 forints salary for Budapest bus drivers, plus a yearly bonus of 25,000 forints. As a departmental head he recalled that last year on National Teachers Day he and his 30 fellow biochemists received a 15,000 forint bonus—to be divided 30 ways. It must be mentioned that on the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution there will be another bonus of not less than 14,800 forints, to be divided up among the most outstanding teachers.

"Are you a satisfied man?"

"If we disregard the fact that our material situation restricts our social mobility, then yes. I live in a state-owned apartment. We have enough to eat. On state business or foreign invitation I often attend conferences abroad. From my salary alone I would not be able to clothe my children; therefore, I use my per diems, scholarships, and occasional contract work mainly to meet this obligation. We do not smoke; generally speaking, we do not drink cocktails, although we do allow ourselves a little wine or beer after payday. We even have money left over to occasionally visit our grandparents living in Kecskemet and Budapest."

"How do you see the future?"

"When I graduated I felt that my professional preparation held much in store for me. We did everything possible to launch our careers at a prestigious place. The future? Our parents are getting older, their pensions are worth less and less. Sooner or later we are going to have to support them. The children are growing; they will need an apartment. If we do not help them, they just won't have the strength to put a roof over their heads.

"In your profession you have had a few achievements. You are 38 years old, at the height of your creative power. I understand your colleagues hold you in esteem; they elected you organizational party secretary. You are healthy, intelligent, and have fine children. Is there an unfulfilled desire you have that you feel would be your due?"

"In my childhood the family always assembled for supper. We sat around the table and each of us could talk about his worries and joys. You cannot create this spirit of family cohesiveness in the kitchen of a small apartment complex. I do not believe that it will come true, but I would very much like to have a one-family house with a garden, where all of us could fit around the table."

"What did Lenin urge young people to do? Study, study, study! What did they teach us 20 years ago in the Marxist-Leninist seminars? In economic competition socialism will overtake capitalism within a short time because under socialism science will be integrated into practice as a productive power. What is the situation today? University research laboratories are considered unproductive places. They do not make investments in science, but rather prop up such establishments as if they were structures on the verge of collapsing. If things continue like this, 20 years from now not only will there be no independent scientific achievements in this country, but there won't even be people around who would understand foreign patents."

Dr Laszlo Nanai, a university professor, graduated from Leningrad State University. Since February 25, 1972 he has held a professorship in experimental physics. After returning home he soon noticed that here we do not have the same respect for a discipline like solid-state physics that they do in the Soviet Union. The Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry assigned him to work for the United Izzo Electric Co. of Hungary. He was received warmly at its employment office. However, they told him right out that they had no need for a solid-state physics researcher, but that if he should study glassblowing, they would gladly accommodate him.

Later he went to the University of Szeged. He saw how his colleagues supplemented their salaries. To make ends meet they had to undertake contract work or moonlight on private jobs. One man, whose hobby was mountain climbing, worked installing insulation in high-rise buildings on weekends. Another had to work part-time as a

tour guide for foreigners. All these extra jobs pay well, but they certainly require no kind of special preparation or skills. Even a laser physicist can load and unload railroad cars.

"We have never been ashamed of our material situation," said Dr Nanai. "At the start of my career we rented a work shop where we also lived. There I used to invite foreign guests over. Once a Soviet and a Swiss professor looked around in the university laboratory, and in my living quarters. My wife cooked while we were talking. These were intelligent men; their faces did not betray what must have been going through their minds. But if I go abroad, be it to the East or West, I never come back empty-handed. They give me equipment, books, and things needed to sustain my department."

Mrs Nanai offered me some tasty bacon biscuits. As I took the third piece her husband said that they had acquired a modern telescope for the university "in exchange of" such biscuits.

"Fifteen years earlier the lights used to burn until midnight at the university. Back then people used to live and breathe science. Nowadays, if I try to get a student in my department as a laboratory assistant, he backs out, saying he has to work as a waiter for 3 months at the Balaton resort area in order to earn enough money to support himself during the year. Is it any wonder that scientific ambitions have declined? Once when I needed something for my apartment, we were forced to cheat. Before this incident neither my father, a lifelong Communist, nor I, an organizational party secretary, could have imagined having to obtain a rabbit-breeding loan for my apartment. Even though my salary does not cover my apartment rent, society still expects me to have and support children. From what?"

"It is possible to make compromises."

"Of course, one can give private lessons when the basics of science should be mastered. You can do more profitable moonlighting work, and, in effect, turn a scientific career into a nickel and dime activity. You can apply for a Western scholarship that would allow you to stay current with developments in your area. But this is at best a stopgap measure. You would soon find yourself falling behind again. The flame dies."

"How far can you proceed along the path you have chosen?"

"If you want to stay current with international developments in science, you must do a great deal of reading. The majority of our departments cut back on acquiring books and foreign periodicals. Research instruments are outdated. By accepted practice we write letters to noted scientists who send us excerpts of their more important articles. Whatever we can get in this way helps us keep

abreast of developments. However, the day may come when we won't even be able to afford postage stamps for our letters begging for reprints."

"I imagined that here at the university I would teach those who were genuinely interested in German language and culture," said Dr Istvan Hansel, a professor in the Department of German language and literature. "I would never have guessed how many people attend this university not for the sake of knowledge but only to get a diploma. We train teachers, but we are miserably failing to teach them how to teach. Of course they see many frightening examples in us."

Dr Hansel and his wife raise four children, and they live in a frame house.

"Behind my back people have already questioned why an educated man like me would have so many children. I am one of two children; my wife is one of five. We wanted three children, in part I guess because this was the ideal family size not so long ago. The fourth child came along unexpectedly, but we love that child just as much as if it had been our first."

"How do you survive?"

"We would not be living so poorly were it not for constant price increases. Already we have hardly enough money for clothing. Our parents gave us the down payment for our apartment. We called it a "loan," but it is obvious we would never pay it back. The children get one another's hand-me-downs. My father says that as long as he is alive he would kill a hog for us. My wife's parents prepare jelly and canned preserves for us. That's how we live."

"How about delegations abroad? Foreign scholarships?"

"I have been in Mannheim. The money I received I spent chiefly on books. This is our luxury. The university has almost no funds for such things, especially in my discipline, synchronic linguistics. In Mannheim I stood next to the Xerox machine making copies of things I wanted until I nearly keeled over from exhaustion." "Would you consider becoming a private tutor?"

"On principle I would not. If I started chasing after money, it would have to be at the expense of my department work, my students, and my family. Deep in my heart I know that in today's world such a principled stand is becoming ever harder to defend. Occasionally my wife and I think about what will happen if our kids are accepted for college. How will we support them, given the fact of family poverty? I guess that if we are somehow supporting them now, we will somehow be able to do so then too. We are paying a high price for my principles."

"What do your children think of this?"

"They are learning that we are living well—in our own fashion."

In April of this year it was announced that university teachers would be getting an across-the-board 10 percent salary raise. It seems that the government has finally acknowledged what a wretched position professional people are in. However, the size of the raise is quite small, and so our basic problems are not changing.

"This is our first raise since 1980 that is more than the officially admitted rate of inflation," said Dr Arpad Bernat, an official of the Trade Union Committee, responsible for wage control. Depending on pay grade, an assistant university instructor makes between 3,700 and 10,000 forints monthly. Recently they raised the upper limit, but this was a farce because nobody even approached such a pay level. The salary of a beginning administrator is between 2,000 and 3,700 forints. As a comparison, please note that an 18-year-old girl who can either type or take shorthand draws a starting salary of 3,500 forints. An assistant university instructor is needed only at a university, but a bookkeeper, a technician, a laborer or even a cleaning lady can find paying work anywhere."

"The language supplement augments your income."

"It is a great achievement that today university teachers can receive the language supplement. Language teachers are the exception, however. There are numerous regulations concerning this. For instance, one may mention strictly as a curiosity that in the School of Philosophy only one person may receive the language supplement for Esperanto. Regulations abound, but the amount of money won't ever be a red cent more. The regulations do have a certain positive effect, in that people strenuously prepare for the language examinations lest they should lose the language supplement to the other competitors."

According to Dr Arpad Bernat, the real income of university teachers is not only low relative to other occupations, but is even low relative to other teachers. In higher education those who prepare teachers are the best paid. Those are followed by high school teachers; at the bottom of the heap are university people. It is not worth torturing yourself to acquire lofty academic degrees.

"In addition to money, are there other reasons for this state of affairs?"

"Of course. As a rule, the further a line of work is from university-type activities, the more it pays. Let us look at an example. An excellent translator of a serious, theoretical study earns about 16 forints an hour. A junior high school language teacher earns about 200 forints from private instruction. If it is necessary to translate instructions of an imported crane or a pepper grinder, you can practically write your own payment check, even though all you are really doing is telling which button to push."

"If the situation is really that grave, why don't people just leave universities for greener pastures?"

"There are indeed those who vote with their feet. People of intelligence vote with their heads; they withhold their brain power from educational and research work. If someone lingers around for 15 to 20 years doing nothing of value, then he might as well continue sticking around here. For decades it has been possible to offer to class after class the same stale material. If someone lands a foreign scholarship, that person can earn more in 2 years abroad than he would here in a lifetime.

What besides obsession would keep people going on like they used to?

I went back to the rector, stating that there would have to be a follow-up story on this report because of the shocking picture it has painted of the future. Everyone is searching for a light at the end of the tunnel. Everyone I have spoken with so far was at least in his forties and settled. But what about the next generation? After a little reflection Dr Bela Csakany suggested I see a certain young man. He is holding a 1-year contract position in a certain department. He has a child, but no apartment. He would like a decent job for his wife, although it is uncertain whether he will be given an extension on his contract.

I called up the young man, asking whether he would tell me about his plans and long-term goals publicly. He asked for a day to think it over. When he called back he said, "Please don't be mad, but I see no point in it." I countered his refusal by stating that the public has a right to know how a future scientist regards his prospects. But I finally dropped it. If he does not want to talk, well, he does not want to talk. He certainly knows why not.

13245/09599

Later Retirement, Other Changes in Pension Law Considered

*25000451b Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG
in Hungarian 6 Jun 87 p 5*

[Text] No final decision has yet been reached as to when the new pension law will become effective; Albert Racz, head of the National Social Insurance Administration, indicated January 1, 1989 as a possible date, according to a news release given to the newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP. The planned changes focus on the question of whether the present retirement age would be raised. According to one proposal—and the one regarded as most probable—the answer is yes. Retirement age will be raised by 3 years for women, to age 58, and by 2 years for men, to age 62. It is an undeniable fact that today's Hungarian age limits are below the European average. Nor is it debatable that raising the limit would save

money on pension payments, both by reducing overall pension costs, and by having would-be pensioners contribute further social security and pension payments to the government's budget.

However, it cannot be disputed that raising the age limit would have other than positive consequences as well. One can expect, for instance, a rise in sick leave expenses, and an ever greater number of disability pension cases. In addition, it is important to note that over the last several decades the state of health of the middle-aged population has alarmingly deteriorated, and average life expectancy (and hence the amount of time spent on pension) has fallen.

The possibility of early retirement may also be considered together with the raising of the retirement age—if this will be implemented at all. According to some plans, those who have the predetermined number of years spent on the job (these to be 40 years for men and 35 years for women) may apply for pension. The effect of this regulation will be to reduce the number of those eligible, since few people, especially women, presently at retirement age have the required time at the job.

It is expected that official time spent in higher education will now be counted toward retirement eligibility. Thus far this has not been the case. Some plans call for giving preferential treatment to women with children. One year will be deducted from the possible retirement age, up to 3 years, for each child she has. In addition, as an acknowledgment of child rearing, the actual number of years on the job will be increased by 2 years per child, up to a total of 6 years.

Plans call not only for altering the retirement age, but also for modifying the so-called pension scale. Today, after a service time of 20 years, they will pay 53 percent of the pension fund. Between 20 and 25 years of work on the job the base figure rises 2 percent per additional year, and between 25 and 32 years, 1 percent per additional year. After that yearly increments are only half a percent. Today's scale practically penalizes people for staying longer on the job; after 42 years of service pension increases simply cease. Plans call for modifying the scale, so that there will be no cap on the yearly increase past 42 years (a 1 percent increase per year is likely). If it should be decided to start the base pension rate at 55 percent, then after 42 years of service the pension index would be 77 percent rather than 75 percent; after 46 years it would be 81 percent instead of 75 percent. This modification would make staying on at the job more attractive. At the same time, those in the 23 to 37 years-of-service bracket would be worse off compared to today's system, because they would be in a lower pension payment bracket.

The new pension regulations are expected to modify and extend automatic cost of living adjustments for pensioners. As is known, at present, only people over 70 and those with the most serious disabilities receive full cost-of-living adjustments, while younger workers in

general get less. This is to say, most pensioners have diminishing purchasing power. In the new system, according to one plan, this age limit for full entitlement would change to 65—at least as a first step. Over this age limit they would raise all pensions annually to follow the price index. There has surfaced, however, the possibility that they may instead connect pension increases to average wage increases, or to a “wage index.”

At present, linkage to the price index seems more likely. Yet to be worked out, however, is what would happen if the national consumer price index should be different from a special price index just for pensioners in any given year. The two are hardly ever identical. In 1985, for example, the nationwide index showed a 7 percent price rise in the country, while the pensioners' index was higher—7.8 percent. Last year their relative positions were reversed.

According to present plans, the new pension regulations will have a new system for computing minimum and maximum pensions. At present, only the smallest pensions are fixed. Today the lowest personal, old age pension is 2,500 forints a month. There is no upper limit, but there is a regulation which indirectly prevents the formation of high pensions. In calculating the base pension, income over 10,000 forints monthly is not counted in full, even though the pension withholding tax is still collected on the full amount. For instance, they will count only 60 percent of a 16,000 forint income for computation purposes. According to plans, the new minimum pension would be around 40 percent of the average national earnings of all wage earners. This would currently mean an outlay of 2,700 forints. There are several proposals for adjusting the upper pension limit. It is likely that it too would be linked to the average income, perhaps three or four times that figure.

For there to be enough money to have a one time increase for “small pensioners” and to have automatic cost of living adjustments, many people feel that the employee's share of contribution toward his retirement benefits must go up. A one percent increase is being considered. This figure is in no way accepted yet, if only because the introduction of the new personal income tax creates a new situation, and then a completely linear pension contribution scheme will be implemented.

Another regulation would reduce initial pension amounts—officially in exchange for later cost of living adjustments. This will be achieved by altering the way entitlement is computed. Presently they base entitlement on the “3 highest” years of a pensioner's last 5 years of active work. Plans call for the averaging of the last 5 years instead. For computation purposes the average income of the last 3 years would be taken as the base figure, while the income of the 1st and 2nd years—based on a sliding price index—will be treated on the level of the 3rd year.

This new computation method, compared to the one in place today, would slightly reduce the base figure, and hence beginning pensions. It is not inconceivable that they may extend this 5-year scheme.

The modification proposals mentioned here relate to old age pensions. But the new law also holds changes for other kinds of pensions. Among these it is worth to mention that men will also become eligible for the so-called widow's pension from which they had been almost completely excluded. In the past a man had to be completely incapable of earning a living, and to lack any pension entitlement in his own right before entitlement could be established. The universal regulation would be that if the surviving spouse is a pensioner, then that person would be entitled to receive 60 percent of the combined pension amount which he or she and the deceased spouse had previously received jointly. (If the survivor's pension alone exceeds this 60 percent figure, then naturally the 60 percent averaging formula would not be used.) This plan, however, means that a large number of men will have entitlement of widow's pension only in principle, because in general the average man's pension is greater than the average woman's.

The figures provided here—as we said before—are not final. The only thing certain is that the pension system will change. For this reason it is not time yet for running for pencil and paper to start adding and subtracting. Everything could change by 1989.

13245/09599

Rampant Construction Problems in State, Private Housing

*25000434b Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian
11 Jun 87 p 1*

[Excerpt] Every year money equivalent to the cost of 500 apartments is thrown out the window by having to repair faulty work performed on housing put up by state construction firms. Eighty percent of new housing requires repair work valued at 500 million forints. It is true that this represents only about 1.5 percent of the cost of housing built this year. The cost of shoddy work in this area is not as sky-high as it is in other branches of Hungarian industry. In the case of housing, however, new owners are understandably irate since year after year the cost of housing rises significantly faster than the rate of inflation. This is placing an ever greater burden on the budgets of single households.

Prompted by bad reports concerning housing built by the state firms, the Central National Control Committee—certainly not for the first time—launched an investigation. Focusing on the period from 1983 to 1986, they were curious about the quality of work performed by the home building firms, and whether quality was affected by regulatory and market conditions. More than 10,000 housing units came under their review. They put their

findings before the government, and sent them to builders, investors, contractors, and the Ministry of Housing and Public construction as well, in order that everyone, whatever his particular interest, know about the investigation's findings.

It should be noted that the investigation into the quality of housing was not confined to state construction alone. Two-thirds of housing units are built using private resources, the greater part of which is provided by neighbors and relatives. Many of these people have no technical knowledge of construction methods. Consequently, the problems of quality of privately built homes were in no way less severe than those of the state firms. Indeed, in many cases they were worse; it was not exceptional for them to put up houses containing flaws that threatened the entire structure. According to estimates, losses arising from this source were two to three times greater than those of state built units. Taken together, then, defects in the quality of housing result in an annual loss to the national economy of some 2 billion forints.

Inspectors cannot hold voluntary workers responsible for serious construction errors. In the majority of cases no one can be judged responsible, despite regulations made after 1979, obligatorily prescribing guidelines for builders. These regulations are purely formal because no mechanism has been devised for fixing responsibility. Housing inspectors hear over and over the following refrain: "I built this place with my own money the way I wanted it, and if it collapses on my head, that is nobody's business but my own." This problem is mounting since the state construction industry cannot compete with private builders. The majority of new housing units are being built privately during the period of the 7th 5-Year Plan. (Of the 320,000-340,000 units anticipated, only 100,000-150,000 will be built by the state construction industry, thus there is a continuous need for the sacrifice and entrepreneurial spirit of our citizens.)

One cannot overlook the fact that the majority of home builders are able to put up houses much more cheaply than can the state construction industry, especially single family homes averaging 90 square meters. Undoubtedly a certain lack of technical expertise is present as well as basic planning. Given today's modern building materials and more demanding layout plans, many such homes must be judged deficient.

Supervision is the responsibility of those administrative branches of municipalities that oversee construction. Quality control in the area of construction is a spotty matter. On-site supervision in general is woefully inadequate. Inspectors will give little more than a quick glance to the building just before occupancy. They do not bother seeing to it that technical requirements were adhered to. It is probable that the speaker cited above is right, at least as far as the type and size of the dwelling is concerned. State construction firms very rarely put up single family, freestanding homes; their specialty is

apartment complexes. Hence, single family home construction is left to private contractors, many of which are fly-by-night outfits who cannot be relied on to follow the technical guidelines prescribed by law, or to produce technologically sound and qualitatively good work.

Let us turn back to organized apartment house construction.

As is known, a tax break of 20,000-24,000 forints per housing unit was accorded to the state apartment building companies. This year in Budapest the size of the tax break will rise to 50,000 forints. In this way last year's profit figures for the companies concerned rose 450 million forints. This figure represents the amount left over after subtracting the 500 million forints they had to pay out for correcting their construction flaws. Hence, we see that the state treasury is in fact offsetting the cost of poor workmanship in this area. There are exceptions, of course. In Győr, Szekesfehervar, and Baranya there are hardly any problems. Enterprises there, while not perfect, do offer qualitatively good, responsible work, and have strict, demanding work inspection. It is not insignificant to note that there are no complaints about quality against the work of contractors whose apartments are built directly for public sale.

In the counties of Csongrad, Somogy, and Veszprem, as well as in Budapest, inspectors have had very bad experiences. In Budapest over the last several years they have found 40,000 defects in 28,000 housing units. The majority of complaints regarding quality involve the following construction firms: AEV, DUTEP, DELEP, and VAEV. These firms have built one-third of the nation's housing units. In the public mind these firms are the construction industry. Grievances most frequently center on qualitatively poor technical work. At the time of final inspection, faults in material, structure, and equipment come to light. Many arise from poor quality control of both labor and material. Furthermore, many items of equipment are simply missing in the houses, owing to bad supervision and even to the outright theft of parts. Structural flaws, electrical defects, and mildewed walls become apparent only after occupancy.

Regarding quality control, the role of construction administration offices of the municipalities expanded recently. The Institute for Quality Control in Construction is charged with overall supervision. However, owing to the lack of adequate staffing it is capable of very little real oversight work. The municipalities, also lacking adequate staffs in this area, do only perfunctory inspections at the time of occupancy. It happens many times that construction companies, pressed to meet year-end quotas, will declare as fully finished housing units that are in fact only half or two-thirds completed. An excessive concentration on quantity also affects investors. Their primary interest—and one that coincides with that of the builders—is to erect houses as fast as possible. In addition, the income of investors is not dependent on the quality of the houses: the salary of technical supervisors

is determined primarily by quantitative results. It is no wonder, then, that in many cases apartment sellers have nothing to do with the actual state of completion; discrepancies arise because of the cost-accounting maneuverings of the councils or the builders. Even up to the time of sale there exists adequate time to actually complete the job. (Of course, when word leaks out that inspectors are on their way, the ceremony of turning over the keys to the new owners is often postponed.)

13245/09599

Self-Protection Handbook on Burglaries Published Privately

25000450a Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in
Hungarian 10 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Bognar: "Publication of Burglary Prevention Handbook"]

[Text] "Two years ago there were only 176 burglaries, whereas in 1986 there were 244." These were the statistics cited by Tibor Bardi, police lieutenant-colonel, yesterday at the press conference held by the economic organization and entrepreneurial company called B. Consulting Service on the occasion of the publication of a new handbook. The title of the just published book is "Bevezetes a Vagyonvedelemben" [Introduction to Property Protection], and the author of the work is Jozsef Karman, police lieutenant-colonel, director of the property protection advisory unit of the Budapest police department headquarters.

It was mentioned several times during the press conference that a handbook of this nature had never before been published in Hungary, and its timeliness could be justified by a series of statistics similar to the ones mentioned in the introduction.

There is also an explanation of why a small business published the book. During its five years of existence BCS has demonstrated the sort of economic opportunities an entrepreneurially spirited company has beside the large state enterprises and organizations, supplementing and even aiding their work.

They have a separate professional property protection service department. They have established fire-, gas-, water- or burglar detection installations in institutions

such as the Fine Arts Museum, the Budapest Historical Museum, Bank of Foreign Trade, the Central Banking Headquarters, the Buda Castle complex, and some seventy other institutions.

This department issued the book cited above and is subtitled "Betoeresvedelmi Ajanlasok" [Suggestions for the Prevention of Burglaries]. The book may be ordered directly from BCS or the branches of the State Insurer; it is not sold in bookstores.

9956

Social Insurance System, Number of 'Sick Leave' Days Discussed

25000451a Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in
Hungarian 10 Jun 87 p 3

[Text] The National Social Insurance Council held a meeting on Tuesday. The subject dealt with the financial administration and activity of the social insurance organizations. This body determined that last year, despite a more difficult economic situation, the social insurance system did develop, extending the number of people entitled to benefits. Last year social insurance expenditures exceeded 142 billion forints, eight percent more than the year before. The level of activity, however, is still inadequate. Almost 70 percent of social insurance disbursements go to pensioners. Such disbursements for pensioners were 8.3 percent higher than the previous year. This increased outlay, however, was effectively cancelled out by increases in consumer prices. It is still an important aim of social insurance to safeguard the purchasing power of pensioners.

The National Social Insurance Council also discussed public health programs. Statistics show some quite unfavorable tendencies: while in 1980 a daily average of 230,000 people were on sick leave, that figure is now 270,000. In 1986 almost 11.5 billion forints were spent for workers on sick leave, 11 percent more than the previous year. Social insurance organizations also support the implementation of a number of public health programs as well.

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END